Between Sardis and Philadelphia

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Between Sardis and Philadelphia

The Life and World of Pietist Court Preacher Conrad Bröske

By

Douglas H. Shantz

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On the cover: Circular illustration (1695) of Thomas Beverley's schematic overview of 7,000 years of world history. (See also Ch. Six, pp. 141–146.)

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To my wife Heather
and to our children, Amy, Jennifer, Mary-Ann and Matthew,

With love and gratitude

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7 July 2007
The Feast of St. Elisabeth of Hungary
Marburg

"The picture of Orthodoxy passing from the scene reminds the observer of a bleak, gray November day. The new arrival, on the other hand, stands in the bright light of spring, as Pietism and Enlightenment appear on the scene as a radical new beginning in church and society…A more careful look, however, immediately reveals something quite banal: supporters on both sides in this controversy are human beings. This demands that one seek to illumine the fabric of dialogue. Right away one must face some obvious misunderstandings: it is not a matter of severing intellectual and theological opposites which remain unreconciled in a person's life. Rather, it is about identifying the struggling powers which have their historical influence in equal measure in real persons. But such a dialectic must necessarily explode rigid classifications, and leave behind the idealization of the new and the simple rejection of the old, and consider instead the historical course of things, the advances and retreats, convergences, compromises, whole and partial successes, semi- and complete defeats…

"From this point of view, the entire tradition no longer consists in a prefabricated presentation of models of thought and existence which one must simply accept or reject. From this new perspective one is able rather to make clear how exactly tradition works in a concrete way as it presses towards actualization, draws out further implications, demands retreat. The power of an idea in history, of a new theological beginning, of a social slogan, can never be grasped in the abstract, never through a strictly intellectual historical consideration alone, but only by going back to the concrete historical interplay of tradition and innovation at their moment of origin. It is precisely when one takes into account the scarcely-to-be-overestimated significance of Pietism and Enlightenment and what they mean for the history of the church, that the question about the essence and uniqueness of Lutheran late Orthodoxy gains its special importance."[1]

—*Martin Greschat*

[1] Martin Greschat, *Zwischen Tradition und Neuem Anfang: Valentin Ernst Löscher und der Ausgang der lutherischen Orthodoxie* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1971), pp. 9–11.

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the life and world of Conrad Bröske (1660–1713), Court Preacher to Count Johann Philipp II in Offenbach/Mayn. Bröske's claim to fame lies in a ten year period between 1694 and 1704 in which this staid Reformed pastor came to espouse with increasing vigour the conviction that, rightly understood, *Revelation* chapters two and three teach that the Church of Sardis, the age of the Reformation, would soon be superceded by the Philadelphian Church, the millennial age. The renewal of *doctrine* achieved in the sixteenth century would be completed by a renewal of *life* marked by Christian unity and brotherly love. Drawing upon the writings of Jakob Böhme and the London visionary Jane Leade, the Philadelphian movement gained widespread support among German Pietists in the 1690s and inspired expectations of dramatic changes around the year 1700.[1] Bröske played a key role in nurturing these expectations through his writings and through the chiliastic literature published under his oversight on the Offenbach press. He is justly described as "one of the most committed propagandists and most zealous organizers" among late seventeenth century German Pietists and Philadelphian millennialists.[2]

Previous scholarship has indicated something of Bröske's importance and his multi-facetted life, but he has never been the focus of a serious investigation. The most significant contributions to date, apart from two short dictionary articles and Hans Schneider's sketch,[3] are those

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[1] On English and German Philadelphianism see the following: Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians: A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1948), and Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht, ed., *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 405–410.

[2] Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), p. 132.

[3] See Johann Christoph Adelung, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgemeinem Gelehrten-Lexico, worin die Schriftsteller aller Stände nach ihren vornehmsten Lebensumständen und Christen beschrieben werden, Erster Band, A und B* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditschens Handlung, 1784), cols. 2281–2283; and Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte I* (Cassel: Cramer, 1781), pp. 52–56. These articles are based upon Bröske's own short autobiography in which he provided a list of his published and unpublished works. (Brief in der Landesbibliothek

by Max Goebel in 1860 and Hans-Jürgen Schrader in 1989. Goebel nicely captured the complex nature of Bröske's life and piety:

> Bröske in Offenbach was a disciple of the English chiliast [Thomas] Beverley, a member of the Philadelphian society in London that sought to unite all true Christians. While Bröske, in several writings, did come out decisively against Anabaptists and separatists in his region, and especially attacked [Johann Konrad] Dippel, yet on the other hand he was a Philadelphian sympathizer…He rightly insisted that it was not the churches that were in Babel, but that Babel was in the churches…Like his English predecessor, Bröske taught in his chiliastic writings that the years of preparation for the thousand year kingdom [of Christ] must begin around the year 1700. He saw the beginnings of this new kingdom precisely in the rise of Philadelphian communities among Pietists, chiliasts, quietists and English Philadelphians. The thousand year kingdom of the Philadelphian Church would last from 1772 until 2772.[4]

Goebel described the conflicts that arose over Philadelphian teaching in the Reformed church in Elberfeld from 1696–1722, and included an account of the "Bröske election controversy." When the Elberfeld church called Bröske on November 7, 1704 to serve as second preacher, the first preacher Johann Grüter incited vigorous opposition to him on account of Bröske's reputation as a heterodox millennialist. The church was deeply divided over the matter and remained so for years to come.[5]

Hans-Jürgen Schrader investigated the fascinating world of radical Pietist printing enterprises through the lens of Johann Henrich Reitz's *History of the Reborn*. Schrader's discussion included the Offenbach press of Bonaventura de Launoy over which Bröske served as censor. Schrader credited Bröske with "significant influence in the court and a position of unlimited power in directing the region's churches and schools." It was Bröske's efforts that "essentially produced the cultural establishment of the region."[6]

Kassel, duodecimo Ms. Hass. 103). For Hans Schneider's sketch of Conrad Bröske see: Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," pp. 409f.

[4] Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche. Bd. III, Die niederrheinische reformirte Kirche und der Separatismus in Wittgenstein und am Niederrhein im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Ed. Theodor Link (Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1860), pp. 81f.

[5] Goebel, *Bd. III*, pp. 453–455.

[6] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 133f. Schrader writes of Bröske: "…dessen Aktivitäten den kulturellen Aufbau des Landes wesentlich gefördert haben."

The present work seeks to illumine the life and world of this early modern court preacher in the spirit of Microhistory, observing when his story serves to illumine a larger canvass.[7] The study shows that through the various roles, contacts and conflicts that mark his career, Conrad Bröske was a figure at once embroiled in the institutions and cares of this world yet also oriented to a new world soon to dawn. Under his oversight the Offenbach press brought to light the heterodox millennialist writings of Heinrich Horch, Johann Konrad Dippel, Johann Wilhelm and Johanna Eleonora Petersen, and many others—literature that was illegal throughout the rest of the empire. Yet Bröske's life was otherwise unremarkable and far from radical. He was the loyal servant to his prince, Count Johann Philipp II. Bröske experienced the tensions and contradictions faced by those who live with feet in two paradigms—the confessional church, and the radical vision of Christian renewal and a millennial age where confessional churches fall away and righteousness prevails. Bröske's critic, Dippel, pointed to this tension or contradiction in Bröske's life and world: "He has sought till now to stand at once on both sides, and through the power of his own intellect to combine old and new, good and bad with each other."[8] In this posture, Bröske was not alone.

This study of Bröske makes several contributions to our knowledge of religion and culture in early modern Germany. *First*, it contributes to the vibrant field of scholarship that focuses upon the more "radical" groups and individuals within German Pietism. The recent upswing in

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[7] Microhistory is a method that examines case-studies that have potential to reveal general historical trends. "Nearly all cases which microhistorians deal with have one thing in common; they all caught the attention of the authorities, thus establishing their archival existence. They illustrate the function of the formal institutions in power and how they handle people's affairs." Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson, "What is Microhistory?" George Mason University's History News Network (8 May 2006). URL: http://hnn.us/articles/23720.html See also: Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park: 1991), p. 107; and Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: from Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, NH: 1997).

[8] "Er hat biß hieher gesuchet auf beyden Seiten zugleich zu stehen, und durch die Würcksamkeit seines Verstandes altes und neues, gutes und böses unter einander zu mischen…" Johann Konrad Dippel, *Christlich-gesinntes Send-Schreiben an Herrn Conrad Brüßken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, worin…sein letzt-publicirtes Scriptum genannt: Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion mit nützlichen und nöthigen Anmerckungen Den Wahrheits-Begierigen Seelen zum Besten, weiter erkläret und illustriret wird* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1701), in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), p. 990.

research into the radicals is owing largely to the work of the Marburg church historian Hans Schneider.[9] In the early 1980s Schneider drew attention to the arbitrary marginalization of many figures from Pietism scholarship. "Church historians for the most part saw little reason to busy themselves more closely with this motley little assembly of visionaries and strange eccentrics."[10] Schneider argued convincingly that the lines between the radicals and more moderate "churchly" Pietists are fluid, and that it is best to see them as two branches on one tree.[11] He noted, for example, that the beginnings of Lutheran ecclesiastical Pietism and radical Pietism are closely intertwined. Johann Jakob Schütz (1640–1690), the "second founder" of Lutheran Pietism and close friend of Spener in Frankfurt, pursued a separatist form of Pietism with fellow members of the *Collegium pietatis* such as Johanna Eleonora Petersen and Christian Fende. It is Schütz who can be credited with the two innovations that became the hallmarks of Pietism: the establishment of conventicles for the gathering of the godly and the new eschatology, hope for better times.[12] Studies have shown how closely-tied A.H. Francke was to visionary, enthusiastic and separatist manifestations

[9] Schrader observed that, "The comprehensive, 63 page *Literaturbericht* by Hans Schneider, 'Der radikale Pietismus in der neueren Forschung,' . . . provides a new basis for a coordinated effort in this field." Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 48. In recent years a significant number of Marburg doctoral dissertations on radical Pietist figures has been completed under Schneider's direction. See Jonathan Strom, "Problems and Promises of Pietism Research," *Church History* 71:3 (September 2002), pp. 543f n. 38.

[10] ". . . diesem bunten Volkchen von Phantasten und skurrilen Sonderlingen." See *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 8 (1982), pp. 15f. For Schneider's overview of radical Pietism research see Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus in der neueren Forschung," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 8 (1982), pp. 15–42; *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 9 (1983), pp. 117–151.

[11] Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," pp. 391–394. Hans-Jürgen Goertz also warned against the attempt to separate the radicals too rigorously from the church Pietists, noting that they often belonged to the same reading and discussion circles. See Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *Religiöse Bewegungen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993), pp. 45, 100–108. Irina Modrow observed that church Pietists and radical Pietists shared common premises: both sought to reform the established churches; both were influenced by Puritanism, Quietism, and the Philadelphian movement. See Irina Modrow, "Der radikale Pietismus. Einige Überlegungen zu der 'linken' Außenseitern einer sozialen-religiösen Erweckungsbewegung in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Frühneuzeit—Info* 3:2 (1992), p. 30.

[12] Schneider, *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 9 (1983), p. 139. Schneider bases this observation upon the study by Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfange des Pietismus* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1970). See also Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation, 4. Auflage* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993), p. 140.

associated with his friend and later Halle colleague Andreas Achilles.[13] Pietist scholarship can no longer afford to ignore figures whose thought and behaviour moved well beyond Spener and Francke.

This raises the question, whether terms such as "ecclesial," "radical" and "separatist" continue to be useful to scholars of German Pietism.[14] Can one precisely identify or define what makes a Pietist radical?[15] Martin Greschat has suggested that it is impossible to clearly differentiate radical from churchly Pietists.[16] Conrad Bröske is a good example of this close alignment for he combined "churchly" and "radical" elements within his own life and career. Emanuel Hirsch suggested that church Pietists retained the Reformation doctrine of justification while radical separatists, such as Dippel, emphasized instead the doctrine of regeneration and new birth.[17] But this distinction is too neat. In fact,

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[13] Friedrich De Boor observed that August Hermann Francke's restrained response to the events in Halberstadt in the early 1690s makes it impossible for historians to make clear distinctions among enthusiasm, separatism and churchly pietism in the work of Francke. Francke's exchange of letters with Spener indicates Francke's great interest in the enthusiastic movements of this period; indeed, he saw God himself at work in them. One could argue that Francke was directly involved in the controversies over conventicles since it was his three week visit in October 1691 to Quedlinburg and Halberstadt that introduced the enthusiastic movement. Francke remained in close contact with its progress through letters and messengers. Friedrich de Boor, "Pietismus, Enthusiasmus und Separatismus an der Wende des 17./18. Jahrhunderts," *Nachrichten der Luther-Academie* (1968/69), pp. 39f. In a 1997 article de Boor reaffirmed that early Pietism in Halle was closely interwoven with the contemporary outbreak of enthusiasm "in the field of work of August Hermann Francke." In late 1691 Francke noted in his diary the "beautiful examples of the goodness of God" in Halberstadt, Quedlinburg and Erfurt. Friedrich de Boor, "Das Auftreten der 'pietistischen Sängerin' Anna Maria Schuchart in Halle 1692," in Gudrun Busch und Wolfgang Miersemann, her. *"Geistreicher" Gesang: Halle und das pietistische Lied* (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 1997), pp. 82, 110.

[14] See Strom, "Problems and Promises of Pietism Research," p. 543 and n. 37.

[15] Hans Schneider discussed these questions at some length. See Schneider, *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 9 (1983), pp. 134f. A colloquium on the topic of Radical Pietism was held in March 2007 at Philipps-University, Marburg in honour of Hans Schneider. Martin Brecht's paper challenged the usefulness and viability of the notion of "radical Pietism." See Martin Brecht, "Der radikale Pietismus—die Problematik einer historischen Kategorie: ein Plakat."

[16] "Die Übergänge vom radikalen zum kirchlichen Pietismus sind fließend, eine klare Abgrenzung ist unmöglich. Von Speners, aber auch Franckes Zustimmung zu den Nonkonformisten oder ihrer Verteidigung war andeutungsweise die Rede." Martin Greschat, *Christentums-geschichte II: Von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1997), p. 104.

[17] See Emanuel Hirsch, *Geschichte der neueren evangelischen Theologie im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des Europäischen Denkens, Bd. II* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1951), pp. 277–298.

the majority of Pietists end up being inconsistent and combining elements of the two streams of Reformation Orthodoxy and Christian renewal. This point will be discussed further below.

Second, this study contributes to the story of early modern printing of heterodox literature in German lands. Martin Brecht pointed to the need for investigation of radical Pietist literature and the related phenomenon of "independent means of book production."[18] Hans-Jürgen Schrader highlighted Offenbach as the earliest instance of heterodox publishing in Germany and pointed to Bröske's key role as author and censor.[19] In the present study Bröske's multi-faceted literary career is finally told in the detail it deserves.

Third, Bröske's Philadelphian millennialism represents an important but neglected chapter in the long story of Christian millennial and apocalyptic expectation. Frank Kermode observed, "Religious and political history would have been unimaginably different if the prophecies of Daniel had been excluded from the Old Testament or those of Revelation from the New."[20] The German Pietists have an important place in the history of Christian apocalyptic interpretation. Yet Robin Barnes speaks for many North American students of the history of Christian apocalypticism when he argues for a "cooling off of the Lutheran passion for history in the seventeenth century." "In the wider world of Lutheran piety and its various offspring, the apocalyptic tensions of the Reformation era were waning markedly by the middle decades of the seventeenth century." The theme of last things "receded far into the background." Disillusioned believers, such as the Pietists, turned to inner spirituality rather than nurture hopes of a coming kingdom.[21] More recent surveys of apocalyptic thought perpetuate this

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[18] "Weit über seine relativ geringe Zahl von Mitgliedern hinaus stellt sich der radikale Pietismus als ein überaus interessantes historisches Phänomen dar." Martin Brecht, "Probleme der Pietismusforschung," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 76:2 (1996), p. 234.

[19] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 131f. "Conrad Bröske…hat sich auch mit einer großen Zahl eigener—zumeist ebenfalls bei Launoy publizierter—Schriften tatkräftig für deren Ideen, für spiritualistische und chiliastische Lehren eingesetzt." For the titles of Bröske works published in Offenbach, see Schrader, pp. 143f, 154, 438 n. 80.

[20] Frank Kermode, "The Canon," in Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, ed., *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (London: Collins, 1987), p. 605.

[21] Robin B. Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 257, 260.

view.[22] Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Karl Barth got it right when he spoke of the "rediscovery of eschatology in Pietism."[23]

The story of Conrad Bröske offers a useful entryway to the neglected world of late seventeenth century German Pietist eschatology, specifically "Philadelphian" millennialism. The Philadelphian movement was founded by Jane Leade[24] in London, England in 1694 for "the encouragement and gathering of all of God's children who have separated themselves from the Babel of Christendom." The movement soon had over one hundred enthusiastic supporters within the German empire.[25] One *motif* of the Philadelphians was the desire to reunite true believers dispersed throughout the various Christian confessions. The second *motif* lay in Leade's teaching that the seven churches, referred to in chapters two and three of John's *Revelation*, refer to seven periods of history, beginning with the founding of the church in the first century and culminating with the last judgment and God's eternal kingdom. The fifth church, the church of "Sardis," represents the confessional church age growing out of the Reformation. The sixth church is the church of "Philadelphia," representing the millennial age when divisions within Christendom are overcome and Christian unity and peace prevail worldwide. Conrad Bröske and other Philadelphians expected that the year 1700 would begin a preparatory period that would soon usher in Christ's millennial kingdom on earth.

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[22] See Michael St. Clair, *Millenarian Movements in Historical Context* (New York: Garland, 1992), and Richard Kyle, *The Last Days are Here Again: A History of the End Times* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998). Michael St. Clair has a chapter discussing "France from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century," and "England from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," but no chapter for Germany. Richard Kyle's discussion of the seventeenth century likewise focuses on "Millenarianism in England," noting that "English millennialism peaked in the late 1640s and 1650s and then declined." Interestingly, Puritan interest in a future millennium is attributed by Kyle to the German theologian Johann Alsted who "predicted that the millennium would begin in 1694." But we hear no more of millennialism in Germany, just that in Europe by the late seventeenth century and the turn of the eighteenth century end-time thinking "was less intense and not as far-flung."

[23] See Karl Barth, *Die protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: 1947), p. 113.

[24] See Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 63–73. Leade belonged to a circle of seventeenth century English Theosophists influenced by the thought of Jacob Böhme (1575–1624). See Julie Hirst, *Jane Leade: A Biography of a Seventeenth-Century Mystic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

[25] See Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," pp. 405f, and Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), p. 170.

Fourth, and most importantly, this book sees Bröske as representative of an increasingly common category in the early modern period: Christian existence "between paradigms"[26] or, to use Philadelphian language, between Sardis and Philadelphia. As will become clear, Pietists such as Bröske, Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke lived with an uneasy truce between two paradigms, in a perpetual balance and tension between Reformation and renewal.[27] On one hand there is the Reformation *justification-sanctification paradigm* of German Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism; on the other is the *renewal paradigm* introduced by Pietism. The justification-sanctification paradigm is founded upon the word of grace in Christ, received by faith. Christian righteousness is essentially Christ's righteousness imputed to the believer. Here is the "nerve" of Christian theology for Luther.[28] Christian existence is marked by *simul justus et peccator*—the awareness that in this world the Christian is "at once righteous and sinner"—and believers must therefore live by faith and hope, always in need of grace, discipline and forgiveness. Like Luther, Calvin taught that "though he is justified

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[26] The notion of paradigm is intended to capture the idea of a distinctive set of beliefs, values, assumptions, behaviours and practices shared by members of a community. For its use in theology see Hans Küng, *Theology for the Third Millennium: An Ecumenical View*, tr. Peter Heinegg. (New York: Doubleday, 1988), pp. 171–175. I agree with Mark Greengrass when he writes: "Historians can hardly avoid fashioning and deploying conceptual models to understand the past. They are part and parcel of the way in which we shape the grand narrative of human history, map its contours, frame its periods and delineate how they relate to one another. The ideas they encapsulate gradually become part of the landscape, difficult to avoid, comforting signposts that tell us where we are…" See Mark Greengrass, "The French Pastorate: Confessional Identity and Confessionalization in the Huguenot Minority, 1559–1685," in C. Scott Dixon and Luise Schorn-Schütte, eds., *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 176.

[27] W.R. Ward points to the conflicted existence of Spener and Francke. "Spener… had to campaign on two fronts. He did not want to lose touch with whatever sources of spiritual vitality might be disclosed by the radical pietists." But Spener was "an establishment man" who was clear that "his origin was in Lutheran Orthodoxy." Likewise, Francke "was open to radical and spiritualistic influences," but "wanted the 'true' church of the faithful to retain its connexion with the establishment." See W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism. A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 23, 40.

[28] Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther. Einführung in Sein Denken* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1964), pp. 122–136. "Die Gerechtigkeit, die aus uns stammt, ist nicht die christliche Gerechtigkeit, und wir werden durch sie nicht rechtschaffen. Die christliche Gerechtigkeit ist das reine Gegenteil, die passive Gerechtigkeit, die wir bloß empfangen, wo wir nichts wirken, sondern einen andern in uns wirken lassen, nämlich Gott." (p. 135)

by Christ, [the Christian] remains more or less a sinner all his life, and this sin has to be combated by penitence…" "Sanctification consists in recognizing how far we still are in fact from true righteousness."[29] For Calvin, church discipline was necessary for nurturing believers in sanctification and holy living.

In the renewal paradigm the paradox of *simul justus et peccator* is replaced by the Christian's experience of regeneration and growth in righteousness. Philipp Jakob Spener stated: "For us Christianity exists entirely in the new inner man." Preaching, theology, sacraments and pastoral care are done in service to individual edification and growth in piety.[30] Peter Burke connected this Pietist emphasis on renewal to a broad effort by church leaders to reform popular culture. In Protestant Europe between 1650 and 1800 this took the form of efforts to bring "reformation within the Reformation." Spener "may have claimed to be going back to Luther, but [his program] involved an important shift of emphasis away from the reform of ritual and belief, with which Luther had been much concerned, towards inner…reform."[31] This emphasis upon new birth and inward renewal is exemplified in Johann Jakob Schütz; Schütz went so far as to reject the Lutheran doctrine of justification and observance of the Lord's Supper.[32] A.H. Francke high-lighted the need for personal conversion, including renunciation of the world and giving oneself over entirely to God.[33] In "un-Lutheran" fashion he established visible signs that enabled one to distinguish a child of God from a child of the world.[34] Francke's conflict with Ernst Valentin Löscher resolved itself to a simple matter: Löscher was not converted; he was not born again.[35] The Philadelphians extended this

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[29] Francois Wendel, *Calvin. The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, Tr. Philip Mairet (London: Collins, 1963), pp. 243, 301.

[30] Albrecht Beutel, *Aufklärung in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 213f.

[31] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), pp. 234, 239f.

[32] Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, pp. 140–143.

[33] Ulrike Witt, *Bekehrung, Bildung und Biographie: Frauen im Umkreis des Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), p. 177. Believers must engage in a three-fold struggle (*dreifacher Kampf*): the struggle for repentance and conversion; the struggle of daily testing and suffering; and the struggle with the final enemy, death.

[34] W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism. A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 43.

[35] Martin Greschat, *Zwischen Tradition und Neuem Anfang: Valentin Ernst Löscher und der Ausgang der lutherischen Orthodoxie* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1971), pp. 308f.

focus upon renewal of the individual to include renewal of church and society at large in the coming millennial age. They looked for the imminent demise of the Church of Sardis, the Reformation Church, and the arrival of Christ's kingdom on earth, Philadelphia.

Finally, the study shows that the world of this Pietist court preacher was truly an international one in terms of his circle of mentors and associates, and his religious identity. Bröske's thought and piety are inexplicable without reference to his close ties to theologians and churches in the Netherlands and to a variety of Anglican and Philadelphian contacts that he developed in England. Bröske's story is that of a Reformed pastor who tested the waters of Cartesian Enlightenment thought on one hand and millenarian expectations and Spiritualism on the other.

The following investigation unfolds the two sides of Bröske's complex life, both lived simultaneously: his life as a court preacher and his life as a Philadelphian chiliast. The first section presents Bröske the Reformed court preacher. Chapters one and two consider Bröske's family background, his time as a student in Marburg and his educational travels to various universities on the continent and in England to hear leading Reformed theologians. Chapter three presents Bröske's life and work as court preacher and first preacher in Offenbach, near Frankfurt. Chapter four examines Bröske's extant Gospel and funeral sermons, considering what they reveal about his pastoral strategy and his relations with the Count and Countess.

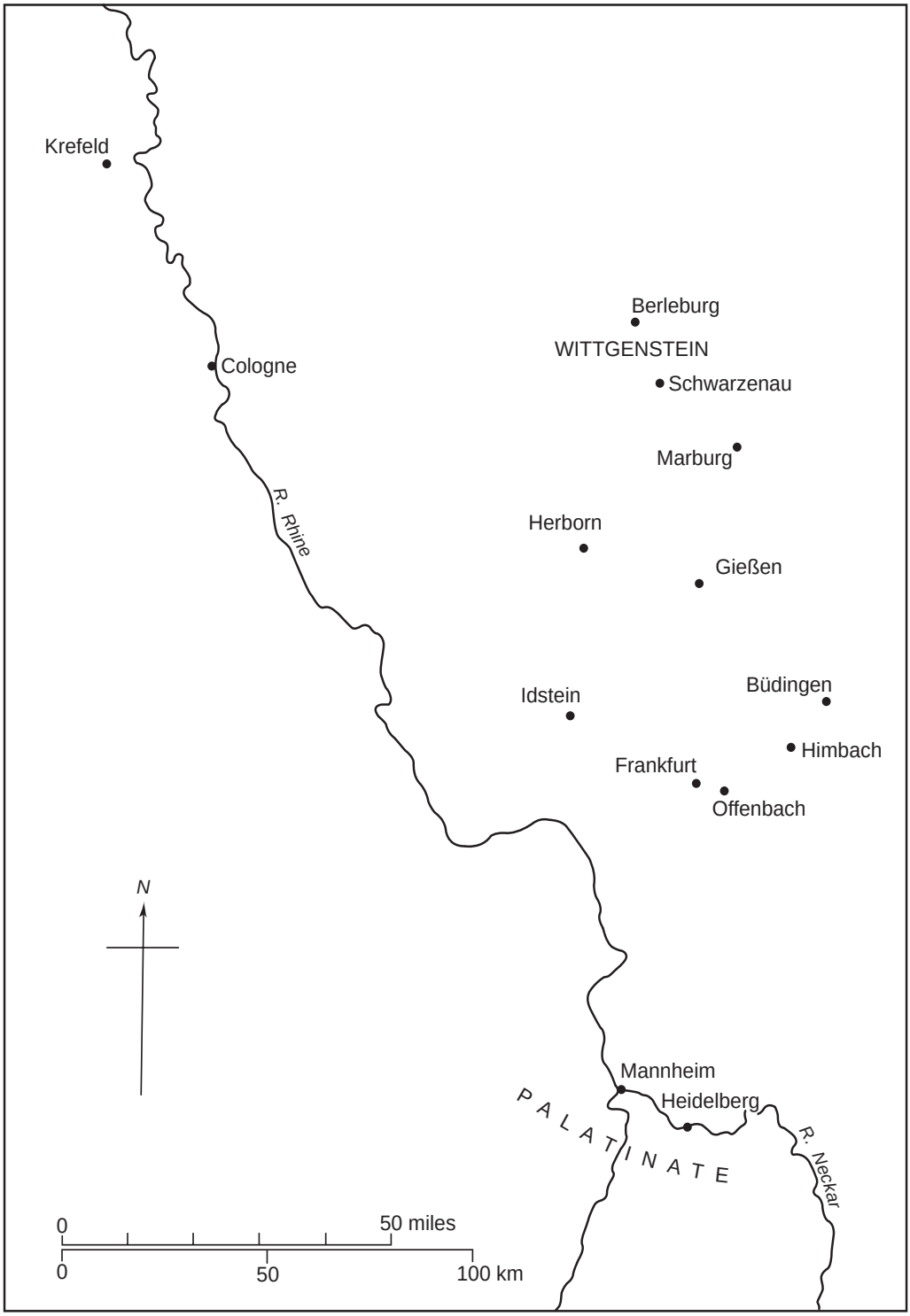
The next section offers a very different portrait of Bröske, highlighting his chiliastic convictions and his literary work in promoting Philadelphian views. Chapter five discusses Bröske's baptism of a young Turkish girl who served in the Ysenburg Court. For Bröske the occasion marked the beginning of the last-days conversion of Jews and heathen and the dawning of the Philadelphian age. Chapters six and seven cover Bröske's literary career and vigorous promotion of his chiliastic expectations through interpretations of Genesis, 2 Thessalonians and prophetical literature such as *Zachariah* and the *Apocalypse*.

The last section presents a Bröske burdened by conflicts and polemics. Chapter eight discusses his conflicts with the brilliant young scholar, Johann Konrad Dippel, who accused Bröske of being a "Staats-Pietist" who compromised his Philadelphian convictions. Chapter nine focuses on Bröske's feud with the Reformed preachers in the Elberfeld Classis, for whom Bröske was far too radical. This view of Bröske is reflected in the entry for "Bröske, Conrad" in *Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgemeinem Gelehrten-Lexicon*, where he is presented as a man "known in his own

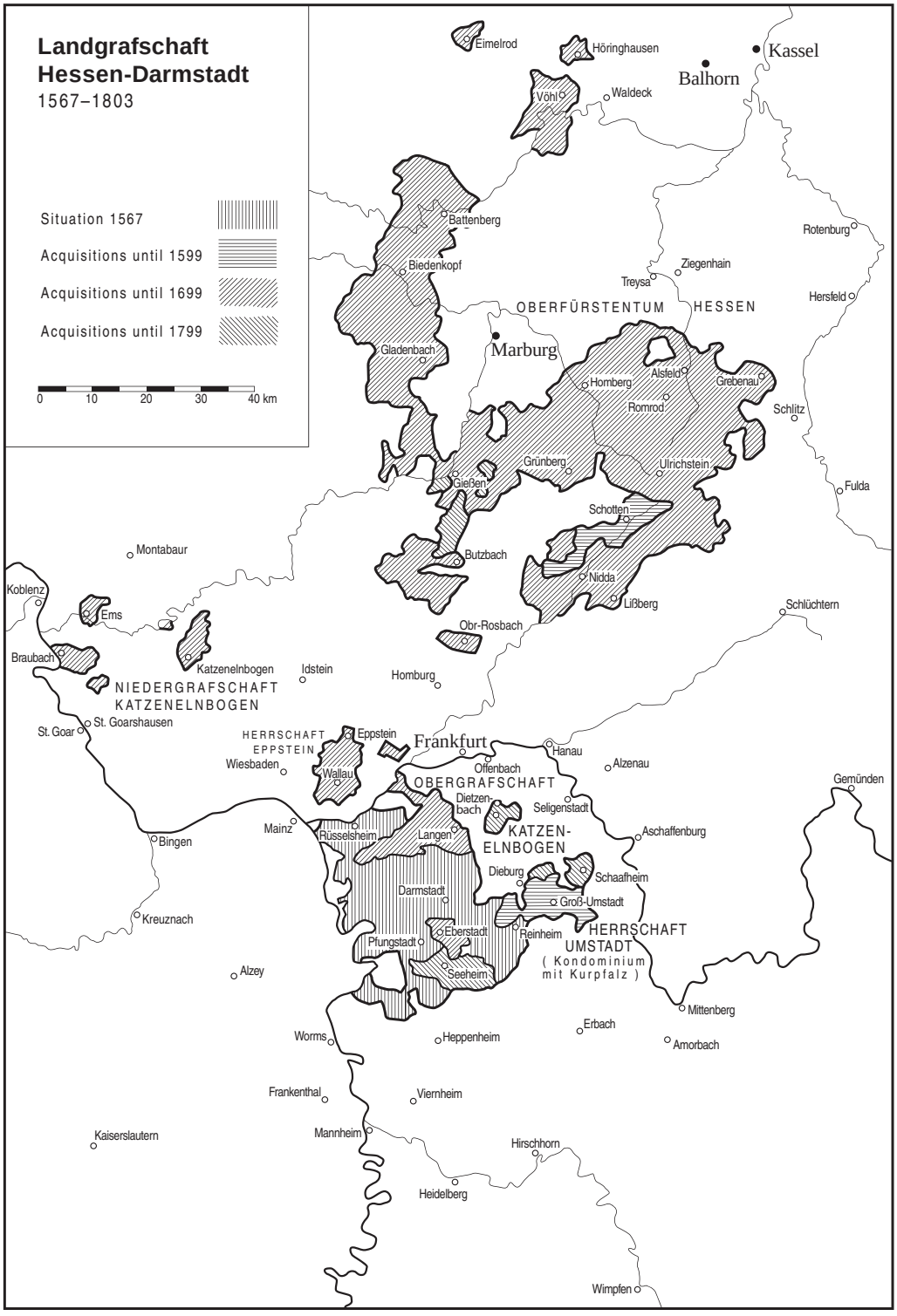
time as a Schwärmer."[36] The study concludes in chapter ten with an overview of Bröske's work as author, editor and censor.

Most of Bröske's publications have been located and incorporated into this study. Appendix four provides a complete list of his writings. Numerous archival sources have been used, including business receipts from Bröske's study days in the Marburg *Stipendiaten Anstalt*. Especially valuable is a short autobiography that Bröske penned in 1710 for a book on distinguished scholars in Hesse; it can be found in translation in Appendix one. With the help of Hans Schneider I have located five of Bröske's unpublished letters to his Count, dated between 1693 and 1707. I had hoped to locate more of Bröske's correspondence. The *Repertorium* and *Findbuch* of the Staatsarchiv in Darmstadt pointed me to materials from Bröske's hand. Lamentably, a hand-written entry dashed my hopes: "Kriegsverlust, vernichtet" (lost in war, destroyed).

[36] Adelung, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen*, col. 2281. "Broeßke, (Conrad) gräflich Isenburgischer Hofprediger zu Offenbach am Main, und ein zu seiner Zeit bekannter Schwärmer…"



Map 1. Map of the Wetterau.



Map 2. Map of Hessen.

THE COURT PREACHER

CHAPTER ONE

FAMILY AND STUDENT LIFE, 1660–1682

Bröske's Family Background in Balhorn and Early Schooling: 1660–1678

Conrad Bröske was born to Herman and Catharina Bröske on March 23, 1660 in the village of Balhorn in the district of Gudensberg, between Kassel and Waldeck.[1] The Bröske family name originated as an affectionate low-German abbreviation of Ambrose.[2] Bröske's great-great-grandfather, Werner Bröske (1500–1575), came to Balhorn in 1523 as the first reformation preacher, appointed by Landgrave Philipp of Hesse.[3] Werner's birthplace was the city of Mengeringhausen whose moated castle served as one of the residences of the Counts of Waldeck in the sixteenth century.[4] Werner's father Henrich was Burgermeister (mayor) in Mengeringhausen. Werner pursued studies at the University of Erfurt, matriculating in 1520.[5] He ministered in Balhorn for forty-nine years.

Family roots in the Balhorn region were deepened in May 1571 when Werner was granted twelve "Morgen" of land (about ten acres) by

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[1] Buchhold repeated P. Heber's mistaken view that Bröske was born in "Wolfshagen," despite Sommerlad's correction. See Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule* (Offenbach a. M.: Heinrich Cramer, 1912), p. 5 n. 1; P. Heber, *Geschichte der Stadt Offenbach* (Frankfurt a. M.: Siegmund Schmerber, 1838); Sommerlad, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Schulwesens zu Offenbach* A.M. (Offenbach a. M. 1892), p. 18 n. 1.

[2] Oskar Hütteroth, *Die althessischen Pfarrer der Reformationszeit* (Marburg: Elwert, 1966), p. 39. Hütteroth described "Bröske" as a "*niederdeutsche Kosename*" for St. Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan (d. 397 A.D.). The name literally means, "little Ambrose." See also Hans Bahlow, *Deutsches Namenlexikon* (München: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967), p. 77. Bahlow identified the name as a low-German abbreviation for Ambrose, originating in Mecklenburg and Silesia.

[3] Wilhelm Schmitt, *Die Synode zu Homberg und ihre Vorgeschichte. Festschrift zur Vierhundert-Jahrfeier der Homberger Synode* (Homberg: Evangelische Kirchengemeinde, 1926), pp. 100f.

[4] Georg Wilhelm Sante, ed., *Handbuch der historischen Stätten Deutschlands, Bd. 4. Hessen* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1960), pp. 302f.

[5] Conrad Bröske, "Brief, 10te April, 1700." (Ms Hass 103, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel), p. 3; Hütteroth, *Die althessischen Pfarrer*, p. 39; Gerhard Bätzing, *Pfarrergeschichte des Kirchenkreises Wolfhagen, von den Anfängen bis 1968* (Marburg: Elwert, 1975), p. 219; Schmitt, *Die Synode zu Homberg*, p. 100.

Herbold and Friedrich von Papenheim.[6] Werner's son Johannes Bröske (ca. 1542–1610), Conrad's great-grandfather, succeeded him as pastor in Balhorn in 1572. Johannes matriculated at Marburg University in May 1561. One of Johannes's sons, Hermann (1587–1655), became Burgermeister in Wolfhagen; his son Henrich (ca. 1580–1646), Conrad's grandfather, became *Grebe*[7] or village mayor in Balhorn and later served as *Verwalter* or city administrator in Elberberg. The Bröske influence in Balhorn continued with Conrad's father Herman (1617–1674), who also served as *Grebe* in Balhorn.[8]

In 1645 Herman married Catharina Curdt (1626–1676) from Altenhasungen. Conrad was the fifth of their nine children.[9] The Balhorn *Kirchenbuch*, or church record book, gives March 28, 1660 as Conrad's Baptism date. The *Kirchenbuch* lists his godfather as Conrad Johrenius, a respected family friend and a prominent official in Gudensberg, for whom Conrad Bröske was likely named. Another Johrenius from Gudensberg, Johann Martini, was Conrad's teacher in Hersfeld fifteen years later. Conrad was confirmed in 1673 as "the son of our village mayor, Mr. Herman Bröske."[10]

Conrad's older brother Ludwig (1652–1690) and younger brother Johann Hermann (1670–1714) also became Reformed preachers. Ludwig served in Unterreichenbach; he died in 1690 at just thirty-eight years of age after nine years of ministry. Johann Hermann served with Conrad in Offenbach from 1698 to 1706 and in Dreieichenhain from 1706 to 1714.[11] It is noteworthy that for several generations after

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[6] According to Langenscheidt, one Morgen represents a "measure of land varying from 0.6 to 0.9 acres." Dr. Otto Springer, ed., *Langenscheidts Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch der Englischen und Detuschen Sprache, Teil II Deutsch-Englisch, 2. Band, 6. Auflage* (Berlin: Langenscheidt, 1992), p. 1100. According to Grimm: 1) "Ein Morgen sei so viel, als ein mann an einem morgen bearbeiten könne…Der Pflüger theilt nach seinen morgenwerken die erdfläche in festbegränzte morgen." 2) "ein morgen lands ist in der mark 10 ruthen breit, 30 ruthen lang." *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, Bd. 6*, Bearb. von Dr. Moriz Heyne (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1885), col. 2563.

[7] The term *Grebe* was used in Hesse in country villages for *Dorfvorsteher* or *Schultheiß* or *Dorfburgermeister*. *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, Bd. 4*, Bearb. von Dr. Moriz Heyne (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1885), col. 1.

[8] Wilm Sippel, *Daten zur Nordhess. Führungsschicht, Bd. 18* (B–C/K) (Göttingen: Die Stiftung Sippel, 1988), pp. 523, 527; Bröske, "Brief," p. 3; Hütteroth, *Die althessischen Pfarrer*, p. 39; "Kirchenbuch der Gemeinde Balhorn, 1653–1754" (Balhorn Evangelische Kirche, Hessen).

[9] Sippel, *Daten zur Nordhess. Führungsschicht*, p. 527; Brösk, "Brief," p. 3.

[10] "Herrn Herman Brößken Hiesiges Greben Sohn," "Kirchenbuch der Gemeinde Balhorn" (1660).

[11] "Kirchenbuch der Gemeinde Balhorn" (1653–1754); Max Aschkewitz, ed.,

Werner Bröske the Bröske sons continued to seek vocations in clerical ministry. This is evident as well in the family of Conrad's aunt, his father's younger sister Elisabeth Bröske (ca. 1622–1690). She married Ludwig Bernhardi (d. 1696) who served as pastor for forty-eight years in Istha, a neighbouring community within easy walking distance of Balhorn. Conrad's father Herman served as godfather at the baptism of one of the Bernhardi children in 1652.[12] One can imagine frequent contact between the two families.

To peruse the Balhorn *Kirchenbuch* from Bröske's time is to realize that death was an ever-present reality, often snatching its victims before they reached mature adulthood. On July 29, 1674, Conrad's father Herman was buried at age 56. In 1676 there were three deaths among the Istha-Balhorn Bröske family relation, all between early August and October 21st—suggesting that an epidemic may have passed through the region. On August 8th Conrad lost his mother Catharina, not yet fifty years of age, leaving the sixteen year old Conrad and four younger siblings between six and fourteen years of age. The Bernhardi family lost two grown children in Istha in September and October of 1676, a thirty year old son Johannes and a sixteen year old daughter Elisabeth, exactly Conrad's age. One can only imagine the impact such losses would have had on young Conrad in Balhorn.[13] Perhaps a couple of Conrad's siblings moved in with family relations in Wolfhagen. Conrad's younger brother Johannes (b. 1667) was confirmed in Wolfhagen in 1680. Conrad's uncle, city Burgermeister Johannes Bröske (1608–1684), served as godfather in the absence of the parents. Other siblings may have joined the Bernhardi household in Istha.[14]

Conrad Bröske tells us that in 1667, at age seven, he began attending the Latin school in Balhorn conducted by the local Reformed preacher, Conrad Winter of Kassel. Winter had just moved to Balhorn in May of 1666, arriving with three young children aged eight to ten years.

Pfarrergeschichte des Sprengels Hanau ("Hanauer Union") bis 1968, Erster Teil (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1984), p. 606, and Lorenz Kohlenbusch, *Pfarrerbuch der evangelischen unierten Kirchengemeinschaft ("Hanauer Union") im Gebiet der Landeskirche in Hessen-Kassel* (Darmstadt: Verlag L.C. Wittich, 1938), p. 315.

[12] Bätzing, *Pfarrergeschichte des Kirchenkreises Wolfhagen*, pp. 103, 104; Sippel, *Daten*, p. 527.

[13] Bätzing, *Pfarrergeschichte des Kirchenkreises Wolfhagen*, pp. 103–104; Sippel, *Daten*, p. 527.

[14] Sippel, *Daten*, p. 533.

The eldest, Maria, was confirmed in 1668 in Balhorn. Winter's work in Balhorn was cut short; he died in November of 1669.[15]

In 1670 Bröske was sent to the Latin school in nearby Wolfhagen, possibly living with the family of his uncle, Johannes Bröske. Conrad attended the school for five years. His teachers were Johannis Schumhuetten of Zierenberg and Johannis Vietoris.[16] In 1675 Bröske began attending the Gymnasium in Hersfeld where his teachers were Johann Daniel Krug and Johann Martini Johrenius of Gudensberg. The Hersfeld Gymnasium had been established over a hundred years earlier, in July 1570, in the former Franciscan cloister. Something of the school's success can be judged from the fact that in 1678 it sent five of its students to Marburg University for further study.[17] One of them was Conrad Bröske.

Marburg University in the Late Seventeenth Century

Bröske arrived in Marburg on October 18, 1678. His older brother Ludwig was still there, having preceded him to Marburg in September 1672.[18] Given their Reformed church background, Marburg was a logical choice for the Bröske brothers. The leading Reformed universities in the German empire at the time were Marburg, Heidelberg, Bremen and Duisburg, with Marburg the closest to Balhorn. In Bröske's day, Marburg University ranked in size just behind Gießen and just ahead of Erfurt. The largest German universities were those in Leipzig, Jena, Wittenberg and Köln.[19]

The Marburg matriculation records show that one "Conradus Bröskenius, Balhornensis Hassus" registered on October 21st, 1678 in the faculty of Philosophy, or arts. Bröske would pursue his studies in

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[15] Bröske, "Brief," p. 3; Gerhard Bätzing, *Pfarrergeschichte des Kirchenkreises Wolfhagen*, p. 226.

[16] Bröske, "Brief," p. 3.

[17] Otto Berlit, "Die ehemaligen hersfelder Klosterschuler." *Hessenland* 40, #6 (Juni, 1928), p. 176; Theodor Birt, ed. *Catalogi Studiosorum Marpurgensium. Fasciculus tertius annos usque ab 1668 ad 1681 complectens* (Marburg: Robert Friedrich, 1905), p. 94, 95.

[18] In 1679, his last year in Marburg, Ludwig took part in a disputation under Dr. Samuel Andreae in the field of historical theology. His thesis was entitled, *De sepulcro Adami*. See Birt, *Catalogus Stud. Marp*., p. 82; Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte Vol. I*, (Cassel: Cramer, 1781), p. 50.

[19] *Academia Gissensis; Beiträge zur älteren Gießener Universitätsgeschichte*. Heraus. Peter Moraw und Volker Press (Marburg: Elwert, 1982), p. 288.

Marburg for four years, until 1682, attending lectures in philosophy, history, Greek and Hebrew, and theology.

The University's Restoration in 1653

The *Marburg Statutes*, established by the University Reform Commission in 1653, set the direction for Marburg University for years to come.[20] The Commission met from October 9, 1652 to May 14, 1653 to address various problems arising in the aftermath of the Thirty Years War. During the War the University had come under Darmstadt's Lutheran dominance. On March 17, 1624 the young Marburg Rector Johannes Crocius (b. 1590), noted for his polemics against Lutherans, Jesuits and Anabaptists, was suspended by the Darmstadt authorities along with seven of his colleagues. Crocius fled to Kassel dressed as a soldier. He and some Marburg professors established a new Academy in Kassel with Crocius as its first Rector.[21] After the War, steps were taken to re-open Marburg University. There were many decisions to be made ranging from the supply of money, to instruction space, to appointment of janitors, to the calling of professors, and to the means of transport to bring them to Marburg.[22]

The University re-opened on Tuesday June 21, 1653 with festivities lasting a full week, from June 16th to 23rd. On behalf of the Reform Commission, Heinrich Dauber re-installed Johannes Crocius as Rector on June 16 along with the symbols of his office—a copy of the *Privileges and Statutes*, the sceptre, key and album. Crocius' Rector's oration ended with a prayer to God in Old Testament fashion. The younger Dauber's address reflected something of his humanist and legal training. Dauber and the Rector represented two generations and two world-views which, in coming decades, would cooperate in sustaining a common "humanist-churchly educational ideal."[23]

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[20] *Academiae Marpurgensis Privilegia, Leges Generales et Statuta Facultatum Specialia, Anno MDCLIII Promulgata.* (Marburgi: Impensis N.G. Elwerti Bibliopolae Academici, MDCCCLXVIII).

[21] Franz Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis* (Marburg: Elwert, G. Braun, 1927), p. 15; S.A. Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg von 1653–1866," in H. Hermelink, and S.A. Kaehler, *Die Philipps-Universität zu Marburg, 1527–1927* (Marburg: G. Braun, 1927), p. 263.

[22] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," p. 254.

[23] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 268, 269.

After the university's restoration, the polemical Crocius showed himself a diplomat who could pursue church politics of tolerance, something demanded by the presence of both Reformed and Lutheran confessions in Hesse. Crocius was convinced that the confession of the Reformed Church in Germany rested on the *Augsburg Confession* and Melanchthon's teachings. "There was in Crocius a clear understanding of the commonality of the two Protestant confessions and an earnest desire to see this commonality recognized." Crocius' theological perspective on this point had been and would remain characteristic of the Marburg faculty as a whole.[24]

The real power on the Reform Commission was its youngest member, the forty year old Reformed jurist Heinrich Dauber from Herborn. He received his doctorate in Orleans at just twenty-one years of age, served as parliamentary counsel in Paris, and in 1646 became professor of Law in Breda. He had observed the modern state-building going on in Europe at the time, witnessing the triumph of princely absolutism in France. Dauber lived in the Netherlands during a crucial time in Dutch higher education. With the battle between strict Calvinism and Arminianism finally over, Dauber was present as a new battle-front came into being between orthodox theology and the early scientific rationalism of the Cartesian school.[25]

The *Marburg Statutes* were written largely by Dauber and reflect his perspective and influence. As a humanist, Dauber expected Marburg professors to uphold the university's reputation in scholarly disputations. He called on theologians and jurists "to avoid all irritation and bitterness in handling confessional and political issues." They should present their arguments *modeste et reverenter*, with careful consideration.[26] Dauber described the main goal of the academic enterprise in Marburg in terms of *sapiens et eloquens pietas*, piety and erudition. These educational ideals of Reformation humanism, exemplified in Jean Sturm's school order in Strasbourg, should likewise guide the teaching enterprise in Marburg.[27] Finally, Marburg was re-established as a university holding to the Reformed faith. In 1529 the obligation had been quite general.

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[24] Ibid., p. 266. Heinrich Heppe viewed this outlook as an "essential feature of the theology of Crocius" and "an essential feature of the Marburg faculty from the beginning."

[25] Ibid., p. 255.

[26] Ibid., p. 286.

[27] Ibid., pp. 290, 292 n. 25.

"We commit into your hands both the governing and establishing of our republic, not only the civil but also the Christian…"[28] Dauber's *Statutes* in 1653 required that instructors conform to "the doctrine of our Reformed Church." This meant loyalty to the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, to the three ecumenical creeds, to the *Augsburg Confession*, and to the confessions of the Reformed Churches.[29] The watchword was now *Religionis conservandae et ad posteros propagandae*—the "maintaining and passing down of pure religion." Dauber made this "the highest goal" of the newly erected Marburg University.[30]

In practice this third point had two implications. First, while orthodoxy and piety were the twin virtues, orthodoxy was considered prior and foundational to the practice of piety. "The doctrine must first be learned and taken up with the understanding before its content can become a shaping power in the life."[31] In Marburg, "orthodox doctrine" meant orthodox Calvinism. Theological controversies were to be addressed from the Reformed point of view so that no false opinions were entertained and students were protected from error.[32] The Federal theology of Cocceijus found a warm reception in George Stannarius (1660–1670) and Heinrich Duysing (1670–91). It remained the basis of instruction until the end of the eighteenth century.[33] In 1678, when Genevan Pastors signed the conservative *Formula Consensus Helvetica* (Helvetic Consensus) of 1675, the statement was adopted as the approved form of doctrine at Marburg University as well.[34] The *Formula Consensus Helvetica* defended the strict Calvinism of the Synod

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[28] Ibid., pp. 292–293. "Rempublicam nostram, non tam civilem quam Christianam et gubernandam et instituendam ut laboris premium incomparabile, vobis committimus."

[29] These confessions included the first Helvetic Confession of 1536, the 1559 confession of the Reformed Churches of France, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, the Scottish, Belgic and Hungarian Reformed Confession of 1570, the 1530 Tetrapolitana—the common confession of Strasbourg, Ulm, Memmingen and Lindau, the Confession of the Elector Friedrich III von der Pfalz, the Confession of the Böhmischen Brüder of 1539, and the Polish Union Consensus of 1570 including other statements of the Reformed Church in Poland. See Heinrich Heppe, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät zu Marburg* (Marburg: Oscar Ehrhardt's Universitäts-Buchhhandlung, 1873), pp. 2f.

[30] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 282, 299.

[31] Ibid., pp. 281, 282.

[32] Ibid., p. 294.

[33] Hans Schneider, "Marburg, Universität" in Gerhard Müller, ed., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Bd. XXII* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), p. 72.

[34] Martin Klauber, "Family Loyalty and Theological Transition in Post-Reformation Geneva," *Fides et Historia* (Winter/Spring, 1992), pp. 58f.

of Dort against the theology of Saumur and its representative, Moses Amyraut.[35]

The second implication of this commitment to pure religion was Marburg's opposition to the new Cartesian philosophy.[36] Dauber insisted that philosophy be protected against every form of innovation and change, and against the spirit of the age. Dauber had evidently absorbed "the passionate rejection which orthodox theology brought against Cartesianism and the new way of thinking" when he was in the Netherlands in the 1640s. In Herborn, to which Dauber retained close ties, Cartesianism was condemned in 1651.[37] During Conrad Bröske's time at Marburg, professors of theology and philosophy came into conflict over Cartesianism. In the 1670's Reinhold Pauli and Samuel Andreae joined the Marburg theology faculty, representing "a new generation of thought" and a new openness to Cartesian philosophy. Both were born in Danzig at the end of the Thirty Years War, had studied in Heidelberg, and had come into contact with the new currents of thought in the Netherlands. Another young professor, Johann Jacob Waldschmiedt (1644–1689), Ordinarius Professor of Medicine from 1674–1689, was an outspoken disciple of the new Cartesianism.[38]

To sum up, at Marburg University Bröske encountered an atmosphere characterized by *modeste et reverenter, sapiens et eloquens pietas*, and *Religionis conservandae et ad posteros propagandae*. That is, he learned the importance

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[35] Moses Amyraut (1596–1664) taught that the atoning death of Christ was objectively a universal sacrifice for all, on condition of faith. In Canon VI the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* stated, to the contrary, that "the Scriptures do not extend unto all and each God's purpose of showing mercy to man, but restrict it to the elect alone…" The *Formula* is also famous for its statement in Canon II on the inspiration of the Hebrew scriptures: "The Hebrew original of the Old Testament which we have received and to this day do retain as handed down by the Hebrew Church…is not only in its consonants but in it vowels, either the vowel points themselves or at least the power of the points not only in its matter but in its words, inspired by God." See Martin Klauber, "The Formula Consensus Helvetica (1675)," *Trinity Journal* 11 (1990), pp. 103–123. For the Latin and German editions of the *Helvetic Consensus*, see: H.A. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum* (Leipzig, 1840), pp. 729–739; and E.G.A. Böckel, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-reformirten Kirche* (Leipzig, 1847), pp. 348–360.

[36] On the cultural shock that the new philosophy of Descartes represented for German universities, see Francesco Trevisani, *Descartes in Germania, La ricezione del cartesianesimo nella Facolta filosofica e medica di Duisburg (1652–1703)* (Milan: Francoangeli, 1992). See the book review by Andre Robinet in *Physis* (1992), pp. 878–880.

[37] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 296, 297.

[38] Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis*, p. 185; Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg von 1653–1866," p. 302. See Kaehler, "Der Kampf zwischen Theologie und Philosophie, 1680–1702," in H. Hermelink, and S.A. Kaehler, *Die Philipps-Universität zu Marburg, 1527–1927* (Marburg: G. Braun, 1927), pp. 299–331.

of handling issues modestly in a way that sought to avoid irritation and bitterness; he was nurtured in the twin virtues of piety and knowledge; and finally, he learned the importance of maintaining orthodox Reformed doctrine. These were not easy virtues to keep in balance, and yet, as we shall see, they characterize with remarkable accuracy the way in which Bröske conducted himself in theological debates in the coming years, including his conflicts with Dippel. Finally, the spirit of innovation at Marburg that came with Pauli and Andreae in the 1670s played a role in Bröske's openness to the philosophy of Rene Descartes as indicated in his disputations and discussed below.

The Marburg Faculty in the late Seventeenth Century

In 1653 the Reform Commission undertook to transfer professors from Kassel to Marburg as quickly as possible. In order to set the academic tone of the university, two champions of Calvinism in Hesse were quickly appointed, Johannes Crocius (d. 1659) and Sebastian Curtius (d. 1684).[39]

The *Marburg Statutes* divided the teaching of theology among four Ordinarius Professors, and stipulated a daily teaching schedule. Professor Primarius would teach New Testament at 9 o'clock in the morning; Secundus would teach Old Testament, mainly the Prophets, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon; the third Ordinarius would teach Systematic Theology, based on Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* and the *Augsburg Confession*, and Theological Controversies (*Streittheologie*) at 7 o'clock in the morning; the fourth Ordinarius would deal with the historical books of the Old Testament and oriental languages, including Hebrew, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.[40]

For some years only the first and third of these positions were filled. By Bröske's time there was a full complement of professors. The Professor Primarius was Sebastian Curtius (1620–1684) who served as Primarius from 1661 to 1684. The Professor Secundus was Johannes Hein (1610–1686) who filled this role from 1661 to 1684. The third Ordinarius was Henrich Duysing (1628–1691) who served in this position from 1674 to 1685; he was later promoted to Primarius. And the

[39] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 260–262.

[40] *Academiae Marpurgensis*, Cap. III De Lectionibus Theologicis, pp. 35f.; Heppe, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät zu Marburg*, p. 5.

fourth Ordinarius, Reinhold Pauli (1638–1682) served from 1674 to 1682.[41] Hebrew and oriental languages were taught by the Philosophy (arts) faculty from 1653 to 1859. In 1662 church history was introduced, also taught by the philosophy faculty. In Bröske's day it was taught by Samuel Andreae (1640–1699).

The most influential professors in Marburg during Bröske's time were Curtius, Hein, Andreae and Henrich May (1632–1696), Professor of Medicine and Physics. Sebastian Curtius was successor to the esteemed Crocius, and Dean of the theology faculty in 1679. Born in Kassel, near Bröske's home in Balhorn, Curtius may have influenced Bröske's future studies in Geneva and travel to the Netherlands, having himself traveled to Strasbourg, Leiden, Zurich, Basel and Geneva. Hein, who earned his doctorate in Basel, was *Ephorus* of the *Stipendiatenanstalt* when Bröske resided there.[42]

Curtius and Hein were sixty and seventy years old respectively by the middle of Bröske's time at Marburg, and so may not have been as influential as the younger Andreae and May. The latter two were exceedingly productive, judging by the number of student disputations that they set. Andreae set *twenty* theses for students during Bröske's time in Marburg alone, and May set *thirteen*. For comparison, during this same period Pauli set *nine* disputations and Duysing set only *three*. The setting of thesis disputations is a good measure of a professor's productivity and popularity with students.[43] Bröske prepared three disputations for Andreae and one for May, so would have come under their influence to a special degree.

Samuel Andreae (b. 1640) was one of the younger professors[44] and certainly the most impressive member of the Marburg faculty during Bröske's student days. Besides teaching as *Professore theologiae extra ordinario* (not one of the four Ordinarius professors), giving lectures in exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, Andreae also taught church history

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[41] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 271–273; Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis*, p. 24.

[42] Hermann Niebuhr, *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Marburger Professoren, 1653–1806* (Marburg: Historische Kommission für Hessen, 1983), p. 253; Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis*, p. 22.

[43] "Theses and Disputations gave professors the opportunity to take a position on the disputed questions in their field, and therefore were considered a sign of scholarly productivity and were included in their list of published writings." Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," p. 292.

[44] Only Maximilian Percelli (b. 1648), Johann Jacob Waldschmiedt (b. 1644) and Johann Georg Brand (b. 1645) were younger.

and eloquence. The long list of disputations which he set for students indicates something of his popularity. He was University Rector in 1678 and Dean of the philosophy faculty in 1679. Andreae also served as university librarian from 1674 to 1687, and from 1676 to 1683 was pastor of the Reformed Church in Marburg. In 1678 Andreae married Sybillen Margrethen, daughter of the Marburg city councilor Wilhelm Scharpf. Something of Samuel Andreae's influence on Bröske may be suggested from the academic trips that Andreae made to Gröningen, Bremen, Oxford and Heidelberg—the very places later visited by Bröske.[45]

Bröske also disputed under Henrich May, Ordinarius Professor of Medicine and Physics from 1669 to 1682, and University Rector in 1681. In the middle of 1682 May left Marburg to practice medicine in Kassel, his birthplace. May made academic trips to Gröningen (where he obtained the Dr. med.), Leiden and Hamburg.[46]

Henrich Duysing, professor of systematic theology, was responsible for several German translations of the writings of the English Puritan Richard Baxter. These were published between 1673 and 1685.[47] One wonders whether Bröske might have read Richard Baxter in Duysing's translation. Duysing (d. 1691) was the last professor to lecture in Latin at Marburg.[48]

In 1653 Wilhelm Landgrave of Hesse stipulated that professors be compensated in a way that left them comfortable.[49] They typically received free lodging, a salary, relief from taxes, and a supply of fuel

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[45] Bröske, "Brief," p. 4; Strieder, *Grundlage, Vol. 1*, pp. 45f., 49–53, 57; Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis*, pp. 24, 25; Niebuhr, *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Marburger Professoren*, p. 254.

[46] Strieder, *Grundlage, Vol. 8*, pp. 316–324; Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensi*, p. 185; Niebuhr, *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Marburger Professoren*, p. 254.

[47] See Strieder, *Grundlage, Vol. 1*, pp. 9, 10. Strieder noted the following translations by Duysing: *Rich. Baxters wahre Bekehrung kräftig gepredigt; aus dem Engl. übers.* (Cassel,1673); *Richard Baxters Lezte Arbeit auf dem Todtbette, wie ein sterbender gottseeliger Mansch seine Seele dem Herrn Jesu anbefehlen solle; aus dem Engl. übers.* (Cassel, 1683); *Baxter, Ruhe der Heiligen; aus dem Engl.* (Cassel, 1684); *Baxter, Hausbuch der Armen; aus dem Engl.* (Marburg, 1684); *Baxter, Ein Heiliger oder ein Vieh; aus dem Engl.* (Hanau, 1685); *Baxter, Creutzigung der Welt durch das Creutz Christi; aus dem Engl.* (Frankfurt a.M. 1685); *Baxter, Göttl. Leben; aus dem Engl.* (Frankfurt a.M. 1685).

[48] Heppe, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät zu Marburg*, p. 30.

[49] In the 1653 *Marburg Statutes* Wilhelm the Landgrave of Hesse addressed the matter of compensation of professors. "We have decreed that all our doctors, professors, and preceptors at our University should be supported and provided with an honourable stipend and compensation from the here appointed goods and income by our University Oeconomos…." *Academiae Marpurgensis*, p. 6.

and other provisions in kind. Three professors had housing related to their university duties: the *Primarius* lived in the Kugelhaus, the *Ephorus* in a wing of the philosophy college, and the *Pädagogiarch* (a theologian) in the Pädagogium. Professors of theology were generally paid a higher salary than professors of philosophy or medicine.[50] In 1661 Curtius received 360 Floren[51] as Primarius, and Crocius 220 fl. as fourth Ordinarius. In 1687 Duysing was Primarius and received 390 fl. and an additional allowance of 50 fl. Tieleman, as third Ordinarius and pastor of the Reformed Church, received 395 fl., a further 40 fl. as *Ephorus* and another 58 fl. as an additional allowance.[52]

The Academic Curriculum

The 1653 *Statutes* laid down an educational program at Marburg that aimed at students' mastery of classical authors, especially the Latin poets. This humanist approach to learning was common throughout Germany and reflected the impact of the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, Philip Melanchthon. Such an education had at least two advantages: first, imitation of classical Latin style helped students obtain something of the eloquence modelled by Cicero, the "master of eloquence"; second, mastery of Latin enabled the student to join the academic guild where Latin was the learned tongue. Facility in Latin served to "separate the learned from the burgers and commoners on the one side, who spoke only German, and from the polite and noble circles on the other side, who turned more and more to the French language and to French culture." Latin continued as the language of scholarship right up to the mid-eighteenth century.[53]

During Bröske's time at Marburg students faced some significant challenges in their studies. A student's academic experience, more often than not, was severely "lacking in stimulation." Most students

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[50] See Peter A. Vandermeersch, Chapter 5, "Teachers," in Ridder-Symoens, Hilde de, ed. *A History of the University in Europe, Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996), pp. 234f.

[51] The Florin was the first gold currency, originating in Florence in 1252. In German the word is Floren, and is equivalent to the Gulden, also originally a gold coin. See Konrad Fuchs and Heribert Raab, ed., *dtv-Wörterbuch zur Geschichte, Bd. 1* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1987), pp. 245, 309.

[52] Heppe, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät zu Marburg*, pp. 37f. Heppe provided salary figures for theology professors in 1661 and in 1687.

[53] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 290, 291.

could not afford books. There was still little or no academic literature in the German language, and Latin books were hard for students to obtain. The library was intended mainly for the professors. Until the mid-seventeenth century the small university library was open for use once a week for an hour; this was later extended to two hours. It was Crocius' achievement to provide students with greater "freedom of access to the library under the oversight of the librarian" and to end the ruling that the books be locked with chains.[54]

Students in the *Stipendiatenanstalt*, the residence for scholarship students, received the best education that the University had to offer.[55] Bröske was fortunate to be among their number. When the scholarship students (Stipendiaten) first arrived, they began preparatory studies in the Philosophy (Arts) faculty, attending lectures in mathematics, Latin style, world history, the history of the German empire, church history, Hebrew grammar, Greek grammar and other liberal disciplines. They were then ready to attend lectures in exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, dogmatics, moral theology, polemical theology, church law and practical theology. The latter course included practice in preaching; by the end of his studies a Stipendiat would have prepared and preached about thirty sermons. After two years of study the Stipendiat undertook the exams that, if passed, made him a Baccalaureate. After three years he could try the exams for the Master's degree.[56]

Disputation was an essential part of the academic program, normally reserved for older, mature students. Each year, over a period of three to four weeks, the Stipendiaten assembled in the Philosophy Auditorium where a theology or philosophy professor presided over the disputations. The professor would set theses for disputation which were advertised on a Sunday on a black notice board. The following Saturday the disputation took place, "the start being indicated by a bell as for public lectures." One student would defend the theses, another attack them. Disputations were conducted in Latin. The participants were warned against two dangers in disputation: either arguing too violently and bitterly or engaging in no real contest—a boring show.[57]

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[54] Ibid., pp. 278, 284 n. 22.

[55] Heppe, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät zu Marburg*, p. 27. For more on the *Anstalt*, see the next section below.

[56] Heppe, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät zu Marburg*, p. 29.

[57] *Academiae Marpurgensis*, pp. 26f; Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 291f.

Between 1679 and 1681 Bröske took part in five public disputations, three in a class devoted to the art of disputation and two "Disputationes Physicas" in 1681 in which he gave the *responsum*.[58] The first three dealt with broad philosophical questions, using philological, historical and philosophical reasoning. The fourth took place on 28 May 1681 under Dr. Henrich May and was entitled, *De corporum gravitate* ("concerning the weight (*gravitas*) of physical bodies"). Bröske's fifth disputation, for his Master's degree, was held on 17 December 1681 under Dr. Samuel Andreae and entitled, *De corporis et spatii identitate, Exercitationem Philosophicam* ("a philosophical exercise concerning the identity of body and space").[59] The title reflects Descartes' teaching that matter consists of extension, that body and space are identical, and that there is no such thing as a void. Bröske opened and closed his presentation with appreciative references to Descartes. He cited fourteen lines from Descartes' second *Meditation* because of their clarity and "sufficient demonstration" of the point.[60] In his fourteenth thesis Bröske cited Descartes' *Principles of Philosophy*, article 33 on bodies and motion.[61] Given Andreae's openness to Cartesian philosophy, it is not surprising that Bröske his student should demonstrate a similar appreciation for the French philosopher.

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[58] The five disputations are the following: Konrad Broeske [Resp.], *Disputatio decima exhibens theses et observationes philosophicas, Phil. Diss., Marburg,* 1679. Samuel Andreae, Praes. (Halle: 87 B 4); Konrad Broeske [Resp.], *Disputatio quinta exhibens theses et observationes philologicas, historicas et philosophicas, Phil. Diss., Marburg,* 1679. Samuel Andreae, Praes. (Halle: 87 B 4); Konrad Broeske [Resp.], *Theses Miscellaneae, Phil. Thes. Marburg,* 1680. Maximilian Percellus, Praes. (Halle: 87 G 10); Konrad Broeske, [Resp.] *Disputatio Physica de corporum gravitate, Nat-wissen. Diss., Marburg,* 1681. Heinrich Majus, Praes. (87 G 10); Konrad Broeske [Resp.], …*de Corporis et spatii identitate, exercitationem philosophicam, Phil. Diss., Marburg,* 1681. Samuel Andreae, Praes. (Halle: 87 B 4 and 87 G 10).

[59] Birt, *Catalogus Stud. Marp. 1668–1681*, p. 95; Sommerlad, p. 18; Bröske, "Brief," p. 4; Strieder, *Grundlage, Vol. 8*, p. 322; Strieder, *Grundlage, Vol. I*, p. 51.

[60] Bröske cited Descartes' illustration of wax just taken from the hive to demonstrate that, when its accidental features are stripped away, wax is "something extended, flexible and malleable." Conrad Bröske, *In Illustri Hac Cattorum Wilhelmiana, Pro Magisterii Insignibus rite obtinendis Hanc, De Corporis et Spatii Identitate, Exercitationem Philosophicam, Sub Umbone Dn . Samuelis Andreae…In Acroaterio Philosophico Ad diem 17. Decembris, horis matutinis Pro vitibus defendendam proponit, Conradus Bröske, ex Hassis Balhornensis* (Marburgi Cattorum: Joh. Jodoci Kürsneri, Anno 1681), pp. 4f.

[61] Bröske, *De Corporis et Spatii Identitate*, p. 10.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO BENEDICENTE

Auctoritate atque Suffragio,

AMPLISSIMÆ & EXCELLENTISSIMÆ

FACULTATIS PHILOSOPHICÆ,

In Illustri Hac

CATTORUM WILHELMIANA,

Pro MAGISTERII Insignibus

ritè obtinendis,

HANC, DE

CORPORIS

ET

SPATII IDENTITATE,

EXERCITATIONEM PHILOSOPHICAM,

Sub Umbone

DN. SAMUELIS ANDREÆ,

S.S. Theol. Doct. ejusdemque, in Almâ hâc CATTORUM,
Extraordinarii, Histor. Civil. & Ecclesiast. simul ac Eloq.
Professi. Ordin. longè Celeberr. nec non Biblioth.
& Reform. ibidem Ecclesiæ Pastoris
Ordinarii

Dn. Præceptoris ac Patroni sui debitâ observantia ætatem honorandi, colendi.

IN ACROATERIO PHILOSOPHICO

Ad diem 17. Decembris, horis matutinis

Pro virilibus defendendam proponit,

CONRADUS BRÖSKE,

EX HASSIS BALHORNENSIS.

MARBURGI CATTORUM,

Typis JOH. JODOCI KÜRSNERI, Acad. Typ. ANNO 1681.

Fig. 1. Title page of Bröske's Marburg MA thesis: "De Corporis et Spatii Identitate" (1681).

Life in the Hessen Stipendiatenanstalt *in Marburg, 1678–1682*

The *Hessen Stipendiatenanstalt* provided the setting for much of Conrad Bröske's student experience over his four years in Marburg. Bröske moved in on October 18, 1678. His older brother Ludwig had entered the *Anstalt* some six years earlier, on October 13th, 1672. Happily for them both, Conrad's stay overlapped with Ludwig's by twelve months.[62] During that year records sometimes identified the two brothers as "Bröscke major" and "Bröscke minor."

German universities tended to leave matters of practical daily living and spiritual nurture up to the students. Students had to fend for themselves in terms of living expenses and general student life. First year students were at the mercy of their older comrades, compelled to serve their every need and want in a system called *Pennalismus*.[63] The framers of the university statutes tended to assume the "self-effective power of pure doctrine," showing little further concern for students' spiritual life. The exception to this was the *Stipendiatenanstalt* which housed a small group of young men "for reason of their academic ability and financial need."[64]

On March 11, 1529 Landgrave Philipp of Hesse established annual *Stipendia*, or student scholarships, as part of his program for evangelical reform in his territory. He hoped in this way to address the need for

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[62] The "Stipendiaten Rechnungen" for the *Hessen Stipendiatenanstalt* note that Conrad Bröske "ist zum Stipendio kommen den 18te 8bris 1678." StAM 310, "Rechnungen über Stipendiaten, 1678–1680," Acc. 1885.

[63] In 1653 both the Landgrave and Rector Crocius condemned the practice of Pennalismus, but without success. It would survive in Marburg well into the eighteenth century. On "Pennalismus" see the following: Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 276–281; Wilhelm Fabricius, "Pennalismus und Deposition in Gießen," in B. Sauer and Herman Haupt, ed., *Ludoviciana. Festzeitung zur dritten Jahrhundertfeier der Universität Gießen* (Gießen: von Münchow, 1907), pp. 24–28; Rainer Müller, Chapter 8, "Student Education, Student Life." In Ridder-Symoens, Hilde de, ed. *A History of the University in Europe, Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996), pp. 349f and Stephan Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel (1673–1734)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), p. 61. Goldschmidt notes: "Der Pennalismus war ein Aufnahmeritus…Die neuimmatrikulierten Studenten, die noch fast Schüler (Pennäler) waren, wurden von den älteren noch nicht als richtige Studierende angesehen. Stattdessen 'nannten [sie] sie Pennäle und verlangten während des Pennaljahrs…von ihnen mancherlei Entsagungen und Leistungen.' Sie durften weder gut gekleidet sein noch die Abzeichen eines Studenten, wie beispielsweise Degen und Federn, tragen. Zum Abschluss des Pennaljahres hatte der junge Student jedes Mitglied seiner Landsmannschaft um die 'Absolution' zu bitten…Nun erst war er ein vollberechtigter Student."

[64] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," pp. 275f., 281.

trained individuals to serve as teachers, pastors, professors, doctors and jurists for years to come.[65]

> The Landgrave wished to encourage not learning or piety or academic vocations in themselves; he rather had in mind to help the land of Hesse in a very concrete way…The scholarship students would live under a more strict discipline of life and study than other students, in order to develop skilful, qualified people who could serve as leaders in Church and State.[66]

After 1653, scholarship students committed themselves upon graduation "to serve the fatherland and to abide continually in our Christian Reformed religion."[67] This commitment may account for Conrad Bröske's sense of obligation to serve the church and ruling authority as Hofprediger in Offenbach in contrast to separatists such as Johann Konrad Dippel who, though he had resided in the *Anstalt* in Gießen, felt no such obligation.

In 1529 Landgrave Philipp gave cities within Hesse both *Präsentationsrecht* (the right to present scholarship candidates, or *Stipendiaten*) and *Zahlungspflicht* (the duty to provide financial support). Various cities in lower Hesse, as well as private individuals, stepped forward as donors and benefactors in supporting *Stipendiaten*. Originally the number of supporting cities was over sixty; by Bröske's day it had decreased to twenty-four Reformed cities, including the following: Kassell (3 places), Eschwege (3), Homberg, Allendorff (3), Rotenberg, Geismar (3), Grebenstein, Wolffhagen, Gudensberg, Spangenberg, Lichtenau, Treijsa, Borken, Ziegenhain (2), Sondra, Neukirchen, Zierenberg, Immenhausen, Niedenstein (2), Felsberg, Witzenhausen, Melsungen (3), Schmalkalden, and Schönstadt.[68] Conrad Bröske's name appeared each year under

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[65] Walter Heinemeyer, "Pro studiosis pauperibus. Die Anfänge des reformatorischen Stipendiatenwesens in Hessen," *Studium und Stipendium; Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hessischen Stipendiatenwesens*, herausg. Walter Heinemeyer (Marburg: Elwert, 1977), p. 90 n. 59.

[66] Heinrich Frick, *Die hessische Stipendiatenanstalt zu Marburg* (Darmstadt: Historischen Vereins für Hessen, 1941), pp. 13, 6. "Nicht Wissenschaft an sich, oder Frömmigkeit an sich, oder akademische Berufe an sich wollte der Landgraf fördern—vielmehr kam es ihm an seinem Hessenland ganz konkret zu helfen…Die Stipendiaten sollen unter einer strengeren Lebensaufsicht und Studienleitung als andere Studenten stehen, damit tüchtige Kräfte für die akademischen Berufe in Kirche und Staat gewonnen werden."

[67] Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," p. 275.

[68] Heinemeyer, "Pro studiosis pauperibus," p. 93 n. 72; Frick, *Die hessische Stipendiatenanstalt*, p. 8 n. 12; St AM 310 "Stipendiaten Rechnungen, 1679."

Immenhausen, evidence he had successfully petitioned this city for support. His brother Ludwig, on the other hand, was supported by Wolffhagen.

Only the best students qualified to become Stipendiaten. A student must first gain the support and approval of one of the supporting cities, and be presented as a candidate by that city. He was then examined by the University authorities, including the Rector, Dean of Arts and their council. If approved, he was added to the list of Stipendiaten and promised financial support. Those found to be unsuited were sent home. The maximum term for a stipend was seven years.[69] Conrad's brother Ludwig stayed for the maximum period allowed.

From the beginning Landgrave Philipp's plan was to house the Stipendiaten together in their own residence, but it was several years before this plan was realized. Finally, in a provision dated May 20, 1546, Landgrave Philipp stipulated that the Marburg Kugelhaus be renovated so that the Stipendiaten could live together.[70] A later order in 1560 designated the former Barfüßerkloster of the Franciscans as the residence for the *Stipendiatenanstalt* and it remained so until 1812.[71] The Kugelhaus then served as the common dining room. The provision of common living in the *Anstalt* meant that a more strict discipline could be enforced among the Stipendiaten than existed among other students. To this end, the *Stipendiatenanstalt* provided living quarters not only for the Stipendiaten but also for the Prefect whose duty it was to enforce general order and good behaviour.[72]

Life in the *Anstalt* recalled something of the monastic discipline that had once prevailed in the one-time Barfüßerkloster. Students were wakened by an early bell that called them to morning prayers. A hymn

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[69] Heinemeyer, "Pro studiosis pauperibus," pp. 93, 95; Frick, *Die hessische Stipendiatenanstalt*, pp. 6, 9.

[70] "Erst 1546 ordnete der Landgraf an, daß die Stipendiaten—mit ihrem Präfekten—künftig im Kugelhaus, das er 'mit stuben, kamern und aller notdurfft' hatte umbauen lassen, zusammen wohnten." See Heinemeyer, "Pro studiosis pauperibus," pp. 97, 99. The Kugelhaus was the former home of the Marburg Brethren of the Common Life, founded in 1477.

[71] Meyer zu Ermgassen noted that this building had been taken over for the new university already back in 1528. "Das ehemalige Barfüßer- oder Franziskaner-Minoritenkloster war 1528 der Universität als 'Collegium Pomerii' überwiesen." Heinrich Meyer zu Ermgassen, "Tisch und Losament. Verköstigung und Unterbringung der Stipendiaten in Marburg," *Studium und Stipendium*, herausg. Walter Heinemeyer (Marburg: Elwert, 1977), p. 107.

[72] Heinemeyer, "Pro studiosis pauperibusn," p. 99; Meyer zu Ermgassen, "Tisch und Losament," pp. 104–107.

was sung, one of the students said a prayer, and another read from a New Testament text. Typically singing was done in German, prayers in Latin, and readings in Latin or Greek. At mealtimes scripture was read aloud and conversations were conducted in Latin. An evening bell called the students to prayers, including a hymn, a prayer, and an Old Testament reading. After evening prayers the house was locked. Students were forbidden to go outside the house after seven o'clock in winter and after eight in summer.[73]

In Bröske's time there were two Majoren and thirty-one Minoren living in the *Anstalt*.[74] The *Majoren*, or *Repetenten*, were the older students responsible for offering academic help to the Stipendiaten. The majority of the thirty-one *Minoren*, or regular Stipendiaten, were theology students. Two places could be given to philosophy students, two to law students, and one to a student of medicine. In 1750 the philosophy and medicine faculties lobbied for a change to allow up to a dozen non-theology students, but this was rejected by the Landgrave.[75]

The *Anstalt* was under the authority of the *Verwaltungskommission*, comprised of the University Rector (President) and a few professors. Direct oversight was exercised by the *Ephorus* who was also a member of the theology faculty. He would closely monitor the students' progress in their studies and their private reading, and encourage them in daily Bible reading.[76] It was important that the *Ephorus* be in close proximity to the student rooms. The Barfüßerkloster served well in this respect. The *Ephorus'* living space included all four floors in the east end of the building as well as use of the garden.[77] The entrance and walkway to the student rooms had fallen into disrepair but they were rebuilt in 1677, just a year before Bröske arrived. During Bröske's stay, the *Ephorus* was the Old Testament Professor Johannes Hein.

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[73] Heppe, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät zu Marburg*, pp. 28f.; Kaehler, "Die Universitat Marburg," p. 275.

[74] Meyer zu Ermgassen, "Tisch und Losament," p. 193.

[75] Frick, *Die hessische Stipendiatenanstalt zu Marburg*, pp. 18f.

[76] Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 62f.

[77] Meyer zu Ermgassen, "Tisch und Losament," pp. 108 n. 42, 191. Meyer zu Ermgassen noted: "Die räumlichen Verhältnisse im Collegium Pomerii (Barfüßerkloster) erleichterten diese Obliegenheit des Ephorus dadurch, daß er einerseits von seiner Wohnung aus den Eingang und die ganze . . . hin ausgerichtete Fassade des Stipendiatengebäudes überblicken konnte, zudem ging von dem Flur seiner Wohnung im 1. Stock eine Tür auf den 'Collegiengang' der den Ephorus bequem nach wenigen Schritten auf die Stipendiaten-wohnung führte."

The *Oekonomos* oversaw the distribution of funds to the scholarship students. In Bröske's day this role was filled at first by the Marburg Burgermeister Martin Werner and then by Albert Otto Horn. There were various household staff (*Hauswirtschaftliche Kräfte*) who were responsible for maintenance of the buildings and cooking the meals. Especially important was the position of *Propst*, responsible for ordering supplies, planning and preparation of meals, and management of finances under the oversight of the *Ephorus* and *Oekonomos*.[78]

There were two meals daily, at mid-day and evening; there was no breakfast. Complaints about the food were frequent. Indeed, these complaints fill volumes of documentary records.[79] Propst Weiß from Kassel served in the *Anstalt* from 1675 to 1683, covering Bröske's time in residence. Weiß faced constant protests from students about small portions, tasteless food, spoiled meat, and badly baked bread.[80] In 1676 two students, the Majoren, brought their concerns to Propst Weiß, but were rudely rebuffed. "He slammed the door in their faces, after previously dismissing them with angry and pompous words."[81] A written complaint was then submitted to the Rector by all the Stipendiaten:

> The lack of meat . . . is so great that one leaves the table only half satisfied, resulting in a noticeable hindrance in studies. One must go door to door begging money in order to buy something to eat and not starve.

Another complaint was over the lack of cleanliness.

> The dining room is so filthy that one can hardly bear the stink. The table cloths are so dirty that one cannot sit at them to eat without disgust.

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[78] See Dietrich von Oppen, "450 Jahre Hessische Stipendiaten-anstalt." *Studium und Stipendium*, herausg. Walter Heinemeyer (Marburg: Elwert, 1977), p. 2; Meyer zu Ermgassen, pp. 189–193. "Quartelsrechnungen sind auch von den Pröpsten seit dem 17. Jahrhundert nachweislich geführt worden."

[79] Meyer zu Ermgassen, "Tisch und Losament," p. 221.

[80] Ibid., p. 223. "In einer Eingabe beim Rektor beschweren sich die Stipendiaten am 23. Januar 1676 darüber, daß 'Salz undt Schmaltz derogestalt sparsamblich angegriffen' werde, daß alles fade schmecke. Der Propst setze ihnen schlechtes Schaffleisch, nicht recht ausgebackenes Brot und 'den stockfleisch, den er sehr oft speiset, in bloßem waßer aufgekocht, gantz unrein auftrage.' Darauf wurde der Propst 'sharf erinnert den Stipendiariis durch die banck zue geben was die ordnung vermöge . . . Aber die Ermahnungen fruchteten nicht viel, und es kam im folgenden Jahr zu einer Beschwerde an den Landgrafen.'"

[81] Ibid., p. 226. "Propst Weiß hat 1676 die Majoren nicht gehört, die ihn wegen Mängeln anreden wollten, 'sondern schlägt die thüer unhöflich und vormals gantz unerhoret wohl mit hönischen undt hochtrabenden worten für ihnen zu.'"

> Between meal times the children soil the dining room, and baby diapers and all kinds of apparel are hung out to dry.[82]

When complaints to the Rector brought no improvement, matters were taken to the Landgrave himself. But little improvement resulted. If students were ill, arrangements were made for them to take meals in their rooms. Not surprisingly, students often pled illness in order to escape the common table. One of Bröske's contemporaries, Johann Christian Crocius, petitioned his sponsor in 1682 to send him money directly so he could eat better food and improve his health. The University investigated and found that Crocius had indeed been unwell on occasion, but the reason appeared to lie in his disorderly behaviour and drunkenness.[83]

The *Stipendiaten Rechnungen*, or quarterly and annual financial records, provide some idea of daily life in the *Stipendiatenanstalt*. The *Rechnungen* are the account books of the *Oekonomos*, recording money paid out for wood, lighting, and food as well as receipts signed by students. In maintaining the *Stipendiaten Rechnungen* the *Oekonomos* usually employed the services of a student assistant.[84] Quarterly records were kept of what moneys had been paid out, to which Stipendiaten, funded by which supporting city, as well as recording special receipts and disbursements.

In Bröske's time there were fourteen student rooms; some had a small unheated room (*Kammer*) attached. Normally there were two students per room, and one or two in a *Kammer*. Each room had an oven for heating and one to four windows. Furnishings consisted of a table, two chairs, one to three bookshelves, one or two beds, and up to 14 hooks used for hanging up clothes. The attached *Kammer* had a window, a bed, a chair and a hook for clothes. Students often designated their rooms not by numbers but by nicknames such as The Red Trouser Fly, The Tree House, The Prison, Egyptian Darkness, The Bird Cage, The Pharmacy, The Sh[it]-H[ouse], The Tavern, The Red Lecher, and The

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[82] Ibid., pp. 221f.
[83] Ibid., p. 196.
[84] StAM 310, "Stipendiaten Rechnungen," 1679, p. 90. For example, the *Rechnungen* for 1679 include the following disbursement: "2 F. 12 alb. von dieser Rechnung zu verfertigen."

Little Garden of Pleasure.[85] The *Anstalt* itself was called the "Tabulat," a term describing the boarded walkway common in many cloisters.[86]

Bröske's name shows up frequently in the *Rechnungen* between 1678 and 1682 in a variety of contexts. On December 19, 1678 the record noted that "Conradus Brösken" along with three others signed to certify that they had received from Martin Werner, on instruction from the *Ephorus*, eight Gulden worth of wood for heat and fuel for lamps. The students generally signed these statements in order of rank and seniority: Bröske's name appeared at the bottom in 1678, third from the top in a receipt in 1681, and at the top in 1682. On June 9, 1681 Bröske signed a receipt for work done, indicating that a craftsman had been hired to do some necessary renovations in their room. As the older of the two, Bröske had signed for the work.[87]

On March 26, 1679 Bröske and another student signed a statement saying that they had received Latin instruction during the winter term from C. Baum, Stipendiaten Major, and that he should be paid two Gulden by Martin Werner, signed by the *Ephorus*, Professor Johannes Hein. Again in August 1681 and in March 1682 Bröske received special Latin instruction along with several others. Bröske clearly had an interest in and aptitude for languages.[88] He later made academic trips to Geneva, London and Utrecht, in part in order to improve his French, English and Dutch.

Twice Conrad Bröske appears in the record because of illness, on September 20, 1679 and again on July 22, 1680. "Payment to Stipendiat Conrad Bröske because he lay in bed sick for two weeks and was not able to come to meals."[89] Later as court preacher there were occasions when Bröske was confined to bed due to serious illness.

A name appears in the *Anstalt* records that later proved significant: Heinrich Horch, the Herborn Reformed theologian and chiliast. Horch

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[85] Meyer zu Ermgassen, "Tisch und Losament," pp. 111–114. "Zum roten Latz, Das Baumgemach, Das Gefängnis, Die Aegyptische Finsternis, Das Vogelbauer, Die Apothek, 'Sch. H.', Das Wirtshaus, Der rothe Bock, Das Lustgärtchen."

[86] Ibid., pp. 108, 104 n. 10.

[87] StAM 310 "Rechnungen der Stipendiatenkasse," 1678, 1681. "Daß obgemelter Jodocus David Wolff auch unser Logament vor ein Kopfstück Bedungen verfertiget, wird gleichfalß hiermitt beschienen."

[88] StAM 310 "Rechnungen der Stipendiatenkasse," 1679, 1681, 1682.

[89] In the latter case we read: "1 F. 16 alb. Conradt Brößke stipendiaten, weil er 2 wochen kranck gelegen undt nicht zu Tisch gehen können, auff geschehene assignation des Herr Ephori sub dato den 22 Julij 1680 ahn geld wirklich gereichet laut 2 qt. N. 6 & 7." See StAM 310 "Stipendiaten Rechnungen," 1679, 1680.

had been a student in Marburg for a short time in 1670 but then followed Theodor Undereyck to Bremen. In 1674 Horch returned to Marburg to study theology and medicine. In 1677 Horch became Dozent, teaching Cartesian philosophy at Marburg.[90] It was at this point that Horch entered the *Anstalt*; it was common for visiting lecturers to find residence there. Records show that Horch spent the last three weeks of the summer quarter (*Crucis*) of 1677 as "extra-ordinarios Stipendiarios" in the *Anstalt*, probably arriving in September. He remained in the *Anstalt* for the next nine quarters, leaving in January 1680.[91]

Bröske was in the *Anstalt* concurrently with Horch for the last quarter of 1678 and all of 1679. One can assume some contact between the two men during this time and the beginnings of the association that marked their later years. It may have been due to Horch's encouragement that Bröske sought out the Leiden professor Christoph Wittich, a Cartesian supporter, during his educational travels in 1685. In 1690 Horch became Pfarrer in the Reformed Church and Professor in the Reformed University in Herborn. In that same year Conrad Bröske's younger brother, Johann Hermann Bröske, entered the Herborn Academy as a student.[92] When Horch was removed from his position as preacher and professor in Herborn in early 1698, Bröske arranged for him to come to Offenbach, and invited Horch to preach on several occasions.[93]

Conclusion

Bröske's credentials as a Reformed Preacher are impressive. He came of a long line of Protestant clergy going back to the sixteenth century.[94] He completed his studies at the Reformed Philipps-University in Marburg

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[90] Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche, Bd. III. Die niederrheinische reformirte Kirche und der Separatismus in Wittgenstein und am Niederrhein im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, hg. Theodor Link (Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1860), p. 747.

[91] StAM 310 "Stipendiaten Rechnungen," 1677–1679.

[92] Wilhelm Diehl, *Pfarrer- und Schulmeisterbuch für die hessen-darmstädtischen Souveränitätslande: Hessia Sacra, Bd. IV* (Darmstadt, 1930), p. 424.

[93] Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus, Bd. 1* (Bonn: 1880), p. 403.

[94] *Hessen* ed. by Georg Wilhelm Sante (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1960), pp. 302f. Bröske's great-great-grandfather Werner Bröske (1500–1575) was appointed the first Protestant pastor in Balhorn in Nieder-hessen by the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse.

where he was nurtured in the twin virtues of piety and knowledge, and learned the importance of maintaining orthodox Reformed doctrine as found in the *Heidelberg Catechism* and the *Formula Consensus Helvetica*. Disputation was an essential part of the academic program and, as soon became evident, Bröske learned his lessons well. His success in disputing "modestly in a way that sought to avoid irritation and bitterness" is open to question, however. Among key influences upon Bröske's life and thought, prominence of place must be given to his experience in the Marburg *Stipendiatenanstalt* which grounded him in a discipline of mind and faith. One sees early evidence for his later reputation as "a man of unusual abilities and rare zeal for academic knowledge."[95] Also evident is Bröske's openness to the thought of Descartes under the influence of Samuel Andreae and Heinrich Horch.

In 1684 Bröske was invited by Count Johann Philipp II to become second preacher at the Reformed Church in Offenbach near Frankfurt am Mayn. He accepted the call on condition that he first be allowed to complete his travel plans. Over a three year period of study Bröske sat at the feet of some of the leading Reformed theologians of his day in various cities in Europe and England.

[95] Heber, *Geschichte der Stadt Offenbach*, p. 176. "…ein Mann von ungemeinen Fähigkeiten und seltnem Eifer für die Wissenschaften."

CHAPTER TWO

BRÖSKE'S EDUCATIONAL TRAVELS, 1683–1686

After completing his studies in Marburg, Bröske set out to fulfill the dream of every European student, embarking on three years of educational travels throughout Europe and England. His plan was to attend lectures by leading Reformed theologians of his day, first in Geneva, then moving on to Utrecht, Leiden, Amsterdam, Harderwyck, London, Oxford and Heidelberg.

Early Modern Educational Travelers

The scholarship on early modern educational travelers, typically young noblemen and sons of middle class Burgers, has experienced a boom in recent years.[1] The sources for this study are abundant, represented in travel diaries and advice books. Many of these works express concern about the negative effects of contact with other European countries. Young people's travels drew forth widespread anxieties and criticism among those who feared for their safety, their faith, their morality and their patriotism.[2] Seven negative images of the educational traveler soon became commonplace in early modern advice books: the wicked Machiavellian Italian traveler, the Atheist traveler, the Catholic traveler, the morally corrupted traveler, the cultural renegade, the foolish

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[1] Michael Maurer, ed., *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung* (Berlin: 1999). See in this volume especially, Thomas Grosser, "Reisen und soziale Eliten. Kavalierstour—Patrizierreise—bürgerliche Bildungsreise," pp. 135–176. See also: Jörg Jochen Berns, "Peregrinatio academica und Kavalierstour. Bildungsreisen junger Deutscher in der Frühen Neuzeit," in Conrad Wiedemann, ed., *Rom—Paris—London. Erfahrung und Selbsterfahrung deutscher Schriftsteller und Künstler in den fremden Metropolen. Ein Symposion* (Stuttgart: 1988); Johannes Burkhardt, Hildegard Gantner-Schlee, Michael Knierim, ed., *Dem rechten Glauben auf der Spur. Eine Bildungsreise durch das Elsaß, die Niederlande, Böhmen und Deutschland. Das Reisetagebuch des Hieronymus Annoni von 1736* (Zürich: TVZ, 2006); and R.G. Plaschka and K. Mack, ed., *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes, vol. II: Universitäten und Studenten. Die Bedeutung studentischer Migrationen in Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (München: 1987).

[2] Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), p. 11.

traveler and the lying traveler. Parents were concerned that their young sons, living on their own and studying in a far off city, could be easily tempted and drawn into immoral behaviours.[3]

These dangers and concerns were little different than those faced by travelers in Medieval times. Medieval Europeans had long been enthusiastic travelers as pilgrims, knights and scholars. Pilgrims would journey together in the hundreds to sites throughout Europe and the Holy Land. While the object of pilgrimage was ostensibly salvation through an act of penance or gratitude, many set out to escape life's routines and to experience adventure and good company. Travel out of mere curiosity was discouraged by the Church as a vice to be avoided.[4] Thomas a Kempis was a harsh critic of pilgrimage for precisely this reason.

> Many run to sundry places to visit the relics of the Saints… Oftentimes in seeing those things, men are moved with curiosity and the novelty of sights, and carry home but little fruit of amendment; and the more so when persons run lightly hither and thither, without real contrition.[5]

The Knight traveled to gain experience in various European tournaments, to improve his military skills. Scholars and students joined the pilgrims and knights in order to study at prestigious universities in Paris, Bologna, Padua, Heidelberg, Oxford and Cambridge.[6]

After the Reformation, enthusiasm for travel switched from the traditional pilgrimage to a new institution: "educational travel" or, in German, "*Bildungsreise*." Educational travel became a well-established practice among most European nations, but especially in the German empire. "The habit of foreign travel developed earlier in Germany than anywhere else." One scholar speaks of a "genuine mania for travel among Germans."[7] It became customary for young noblemen to

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[3] Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller*, pp. 7, 39.
[4] Ibid., pp. 17, 20, 22.
[5] Ibid., p. 22.
[6] Ibid., pp. 26f.
[7] Ibid., p. 9. See Malcolm Letts, "Some Sixteenth-century Travellers in Naples," *English Historical Review* XXXIII (1918), p. 180. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens observed: "The English and the Germans had the reputation of being the most fervent academic tourists—on their own admission because they lacked culture and refinement… All in all, the European elites followed this fashion, Protestants more than Catholics, and English and German-speakers and Slavs much more than the French, Italians or Spanish." See Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Chapter 10, "Mobility," in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe, Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996), p. 433.

complete their education by making a "Grand Tour" or "Cavalierstour" of leading European cities, especially in Italy. The tour would generally last anywhere from one to three years. The Grand Tour was inspired by the sixteenth century humanist ideal of education as preparation for civic duty. Favourite destinations for young German noblemen were Vienna for its culture, Berlin and Weimar as centers of Enlightenment thought, as well as Munich, Heidelberg and Jena, and various cities in Holland.[8] The sons of Burgers soon imitated the sons of nobility in their pursuit of worldly experience and education through travel. Until 1700, at least, travel represented an essential part of a student's university education.

Educational travels held out a multi-facetted appeal and benefit for young men, despite the dangers. They exposed them to cultures in other parts of the world; they provided an opportunity for them to mature as young adults and to improve their manners and self-discipline; they were a means of developing an international network of friends and contacts who might be called upon to advantage in later life; and, for those so disposed, they were an opportunity to learn new languages and thereby gain access to a wider world of literature and culture.[9] The young traveler became truly a citizen of Europe and the larger world as a result of his experiences abroad. Typically on these journeys, young men bore with them letters of introduction to various individuals who could provide welcome, accommodations and further introductions along the way.[10] This only made sense given the formidable challenges that such travel presented. "Roads were bad and unsafe, transport primitive, inns few and far between and of poor quality; military operations were nearly always going on, there were

[8] Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller*, p. 3. A widely-heralded study of the Grand Tour among seventeenth century German nobility is Antje Stannek's *Telemachs Brüder: Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2001). See also Mathis Leibetseder, *Die Kavalierstour. Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2004). Leibetseder examines letters, reports and instructions pertaining to the travels of twenty young noblemen.

[9] "Thousands and thousands of young people traveled all over Europe in search of knowledge, culture, adventure, safety, people of their own religion, and more prestigious academic degrees, or merely to ape the fashion of the moment." See de Ridder-Symoens, Chapter 10, "Mobility," p. 442.

[10] See Dorothea Trebesius, "Geschäftsfeld Europa. Kaufmännisches Reisen am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte* (2007). URL: http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2007/Article=224

outbreaks of chauvinism and xenophobia, and interminable religious and political disputes."[11]

Protestant theology students undertook their own variation on the *Bildungsreise*. Many young Pietists became educational travelers, most notably Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782). His journeys, however, are remarkable for how much they differ from Bröske's early travels. Oetinger's discussion partners included Jewish cabalists, a miller, a farm labourer, three physicians, a Marquis, a separatist and three Counts. The main thread of Oetinger's travels was his persistent effort to overcome narrow intellectual confines through ever new encounters, discussions and reading.[12] Such journeys comported well with the Pietist emphasis upon personal discovery and experience of God's truth. It has recently been suggested that "Pietists approached the world with an open mind, revealing similarities with contemporary Enlightenment modes of perception and thought."[13]

Conrad Bröske's Educational Travels

Bröske's educational travels were typical of those undertaken by young Reformed theology students. The usual destinations included Geneva, Heidelberg, Leiden, Utrecht and Amsterdam. Bröske followed the precedents set by his own Marburg professors. Sebastian Curtius had undertaken *Bildungsreise* to Strasbourg, Leiden, Zurich, Basel and Geneva,[14] while Samuel Andreae had traveled to Groningen, Bremen, Oxford and Heidelberg. Bröske's travels included many of these places.[15]

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[11] de Ridder-Symoens, Chapter 10, "Mobility," p. 442.

[12] See Douglas H. Shantz, "The Harvest of Pietist Theology: F.C. Oetinger's Quest for Truth as Recounted in his *Selbstbiographie* of 1762," in Michel Desjardins and Harold Remus, ed., *From Pietism to Roman Catholicism: A Festschrift in Honour of Peter C. Erb* (Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2008).

[13] Eva Kormann, Review of Johannes Burkhardt, Hildegard Gantner-Schlee, Michael Knierim, ed., *Dem rechten Glauben auf der Spur. Eine Bildungsreise durch das Elsaß, die Niederlande, Böhmen und Deutschland. Das Reisetagebuch des Hieronymus Annoni von 1736* (Zürich: TVZ, 2006) in *Sehepunkte* 7 (2007), Nr. 9 (15.09.2007). URL: http://www.sehepunkte.de/2007/09/10362.html

[14] Hermann Niebuhr, *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Marburger Professoren, 1653–1806* (Marburg: Historische Kommission für Hessen, 1983), p. 253; Franz Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis* (Marburg: Elwert, G. Braun, 1927), p. 22.

[15] Conrad Bröske, "Brief, 10 April, 1710." [Ms Hass 103, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel]. (Includes the brief autobiography and bibliography that Bröske provided at the invitation of the editor of a book on scholars of Hessen); Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und*

Bröske in Geneva

After completing his studies in Marburg, Bröske traveled to Geneva, matriculating at the Academy on March 23, 1683.[16] While there he attended lectures by some of the great Reformed theologians and preachers of the day, specifically mentioning Francis Turretin, Louis Tronchin and Philippe Mestrezat.[17] Post-Reformation "high orthodoxy," which lasted until about 1700, was dominated by Francis Turretin (1623–1687). Turretin had a reputation as a zealous champion of the strict orthodoxy of the Synod of Dort and a defender of the Helvetic Confession. He was the leading figure in the Genevan Academy.[18] His most important work, *Institutio theologiae Elencticae*, was published in Geneva between 1679 and 1685, overlapping with Bröske's time there.[19]

Geneva at this time was clearly the centre of Reformed orthodoxy, followed closely by Leiden, Groningen and Utrecht. Two Genevan professors, Jean Diodati and Theodore Tronchin, had taken part in the Synod of Dort in 1618–1619, pushing for the condemnation of Arminianism and supporting a modified form of "Gomarism." Named for Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641) the Leiden theologian, this theology distinguished a covenant of nature and covenant of grace. This position was later imposed on all Genevan Preachers and Professors. This confessional period in Geneva continued right up to Bröske's time there.[20]

Schriftsteller-Geschichte. Seit der Reformation bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten. Volume 1 (Kassel: Cramer, 1781), pp. 45f., 49–53, 57; Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis*, pp. 24, 25; Niebuhr, *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Marburger Professoren*, p. 254.

[16] M.S. Stelling-Michaud, ed., *Le Livre du recteur de l'Academie de Geneve (1554–1878)*, *vol. 1* (Geneve, 1959), p. 240; and *vol. II, Notices biographiques des etudiants* (Geneve 1966), p. 341.

[17] Bröske, "Brief," fol. 3v.

[18] Martin Klauber, "Reason, Revelation and Cartesianism: Louis Tronchin and Enlightened Orthodoxy in Late Seventeenth-Century Geneva," *Church History* 59, 3 (Sept. 1990), p. 327.

[19] L. Thomas, G. Choisy, "Turrettini," in D. Albert Hauck, ed., *Realenzyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Bd. 20, 3. Auflage* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), p. 165.

[20] Robert M. Kingdon, "Genf," in Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller, ed., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Bd. 12* (Berlin: deGruyter, 1984), pp. 371, 372; Martin Klauber, "Family Loyalty and Theological Transition in Post-Reformation Geneva," *Fides et Historia* (Winter/Spring, 1992), p. 58. In 1669 all Genevan Pastors had to subscribe to a series of theses against Arminianism drawn up by the Genevan theology professor Alexandre Morus. In 1678 Genevan Pastors signed the conservative *Helvetic Consensus* which became the established doctrinal position of all the Swiss Reformed Churches, the signing of which was required of all ministerial candidates up until 1706.

There were also, however, some winds of change in Geneva, represented by the philosophy professor Jean-Robert Chouet (1642–1731) and his uncle Louis Tronchin (1629–1705), son of Theodore Tronchin. From 1669 to 1686 Chouet lectured on the philosophy of Descartes and had a wide-ranging impact.[21] Louis Tronchin had a similar progressive influence, teaching in Geneva from 1661–1705. He had studied at the Saumur Academy under Moise Amyraut, and when elected professor of theology in Geneva in 1661 promoted Amyraut's views. This position was a compromise between Reformed and Arminian thought, teaching Christ's universal atonement and the universality of grace.[22] "Tronchin's use of Cartesianism in theological discourse helped to break the stronghold of scholastic methodology over the theological curriculum." Tronchin has been credited with producing "an entire generation of 'enlightened orthodox' theologians" that would later oppose the conservative, scholastic form of Reformed theology.[23]

Louis Tronchin was a liberal thinker and a model of tolerance. Along with the theologian Philippe Mestrezat, Tronchin pushed for abolition of the oath demanded of all Genevan pastoral candidates.[24] In this they represented an opposing view to that of Francis Turretin. When the *Helvetic Formula Consensus*, which opposed Amyraut and the Saumur Academy, was accepted by the Genevan Pastors in 1678 and by the Council in January 1679, it was only a temporary setback for Tronchin and Mestrezat. Tronchin continued to teach his students the theology of Saumur in private classes in his home.[25]

Such was the situation in Geneva during Bröske's time of study there. Possible influences on Bröske include Louis Tronchin's ecumenical spirit, evident in his openness to dialogue with Anglicans and Lutherans, his desire for closer relations with them, and his belief that the two confessions agreed on the essentials of the faith. Tronchin

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[21] Under Chouet's influence as Syndicus, the Academy changed from a Seminary for Protestant clergy to a University with faculties of law, mathematics, church history and medicine. See Robert M. Kingdon, "Genf," pp. 371, 372; Klauber, "Family Loyalty and Theological Transition," p. 62; Michael Heyd, *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment: Jean-Robert Chouet and the Introduction of Cartesian Science in the Academy of Geneva* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982).

[22] Klauber, "Reason, Revelation and Cartesianism," pp. 326f.

[23] Klauber, "Reason, Revelation and Cartesianism," pp. 339, 326.

[24] G. Bonet-Maury, "Tronchin, Ludwig" in D. Albert Hauck, ed., *Realenzyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Bd. 20, 3. Auflage* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), pp. 135f.

[25] Klauber, "Family Loyalty and Theological Transition," p. 57, and Klauber, "Reason, Revelation and Cartesianism," p. 327.

engaged in negotiations with the archbishop of Canterbury and the king of Prussia "in an attempt to forge a union between the Church of England, the German Lutherans and the Swiss Calvinists."[26] Tronchin advocated guarded use of creeds, Fathers and councils. While valuable, these ancient authorities should not be treated as infallible guides.[27] He believed that separatist sectarian groups erred in their emphasis upon personal revelation and in their disruption of Christian unity.[28] Finally, he cautioned readers of the prophetic books in Scripture to "cling to the ethical nature of the writings rather than attempt to interpret current events in light of such prophecies."[29] There is little evidence that Bröske took this last piece of advice to heart.

Bröske in Holland: Utrecht, Leiden and Harderwyck

Martin Greschat observed that German Reformed Pietism "was clearly stamped by the thought-world of Dutch piety."[30] The Dutch religious climate aimed at the continuation and deepening of the Reformation (*nadere Reformatie*), with special concern for the moralizing of private and public life, self-observation and strict observance of God's commandments. Influential seventeenth century Dutch thinkers include the "Pope of Utrecht" Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676),[31] Willem Teellinck (1579–1629)[32] and Johannes Coccejus (1603–1669).[33] These men would

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[26] Klauber, "Reason, Revelation and Cartesianism," pp. 326, 328, 335.
[27] Ibid., pp. 334, 336.
[28] Ibid., pp. 336, 338.
[29] Ibid., p. 338.
[30] Martin Greschat, *Christentums-geschichte II: Von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1997), p. 111.
[31] Andreas Beck recently observed that "despite his great importance, the theology of Voetius is relatively unresearched and apart from his name, he is hardly known … The investigation of the theology of the Utrecht scholar is even now still very fragmentary." Andreas J. Beck, *Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676): Sein Theologieverständnis und seine Gotteslehre* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), pp. 13, 16. See also Aart de Groot, "Gisbertius Voetius," in Martin Greschat, ed. *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, vol. VII* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1982), pp. 149–162. A recent translation of a work by Voetius is the following: Voetius and Johannes Hoornbeeck, *Spiritual Desertion*, John Vriend and Harry Boonstra, tr. M. Eugene Osterhaven, ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003) (orig. 1659).
[32] A recently translated work by Teellinck is the following: Willem Teellinck, *The Path of True Godliness*, Annemie Godbehere, tr., Joel R. Beeke, ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003).
[33] See Willem J. van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), and Heiner Faulenbach, *Weg und Ziel der Erkenntnis Christi. Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des Johannes Coccejus* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973).

shape the thought and piety of Theodor Undereyck (1635–1693), "the founder of Reformed Pietism in Germany,"[34] as well as influencing other German Reformed Pietists such as Conrad Bröske.

A highly influential figure in the Dutch Reformed Church, Voetius[35] was appointed professor of theology in 1634 at the newly founded University of Utrecht. Voetius' piety was "of a combative variety,"[36] reflected in controversies with Coccejus and, most famously, with Rene Descartes (1596–1650) who spent much of his adult life in the Netherlands. In June 1640 Henry Regius (1598–1679), professor of Medicine in Utrecht and a defender of Descartes,[37] offered some Cartesian theses for public debate. Voetius accepted the challenge, seeing it as an opportunity to eliminate Descartes' influence at the university once and for all. But the Jesuit-educated Descartes was not one to back away from a conflict and neither was Regius. The feud, as a result, continued on for five years, from 1640–1645. This is precisely the period in which Descartes wrote two of his major treatises, the *Meditations* (1641) and *Principles of Philosophy* (1644). For Voetius, the battle with Descartes was a God-given duty.[38] Through a friend, Voetius charged Descartes with atheism for undermining traditional proofs for the existence of God[39] and by linking him with Giulio Cesare Vanini implied that Descartes was homosexual. Voetius succeeded in getting the university Senate to prohibit Regius, or anyone else, from teaching Cartesianism. Descartes responded in two widely-published letters in which he called Voetius "a quarrelsome, foolish pedant, a hypocrite and an enemy to the truth" and accused him of slander. "I have read many of your writings [said Descartes], yet I have never found…anything which suggests a man

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[34] Martin Greschat, *Christentums-geschichte II: Von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1997), p. 112.

[35] His name in Dutch was Gisbert Voet (foot).

[36] de Groot, "Gisbertius Voetius," p. 153.

[37] For a recent edition of the correspondence between Regius and Descartes see: Erik-Jan (Jan Jacobus Frederik Maria) Bos, ed., *The Correspondence between Descartes and Henricus Regius* (Utrecht: Proefschrift, Universiteit Utrecht, 2002).

[38] de Groot, "Gisbertius Voetius," p. 160.

[39] Voetius was unable to see the fundamentally religious motive that drove Descartes to find a better foundation for belief in God than the traditional proofs for God's existence could offer. Early in his career Descartes wrote: "I consider that all those to whom God has given the use of reason are bound to employ it principally in order to endeavour to know Him and to know themselves." See Alexandre Koyre, "Introduction," in Elizabeth Anscombe and Peter Thomas Geach, ed., *Descartes. Philosophical Writings* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954), p. xxxv.

of intelligence or education."[40] Only with intervention from the French ambassador did Descartes avoid charges of libel.[41]

Voetius' disdain for millennialism is apparent in his opposition to the writings of Joseph Mede. In responding to the 1632 edition of Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (Key to the Apocalypse), Voetius argued that Christ's return would usher in the final judgment and the eternal heavenly kingdom, not the millennium. The millennium belonged in the period between Christ's first and second comings; it was a spiritual kingdom, not an earthly one. It seems likely that such debates actually increased the profile of millennial thinking at the time, and helped to nurture apocalyptic interest in followers of Voetius such as Jacob Koelman (1632–1695).[42]

Another, more appealing, side to Voetius is evident in his support for the educational interests of a young woman by the name of Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678). After the death of her father Friedrich in 1623, Anna Maria and her mother moved from Franeker to Utrecht. She was already a brilliant young classics student when Voetius arrived in the city and agreed to tutor her in Greek and Hebrew, and even allowed her to discreetly attend his lectures.[43] She also heard lectures in Cartesian philosophy and on one occasion met Descartes. When the feud between Descartes and Voetius broke out, she took the side of

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[40] A.C. Grayling, *Descartes: The Life of Rene Descartes and its Place in his Times* (London: Pocket Books, 2005), pp. 211–217, esp. pp. 213, 216. On the conflict between Voetius and the Cartesians see: Beck, *Gisbertus Voetius*, Chapter 2, "Auseinandersetzung mit dem Cartesianismus"; Han van Ruler, *The Crisis of Causality. Voetius and Descartes on God, Nature and Change* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); and Theo Verbeek, "From 'Learned Ignorance' to Scepticism: Descartes and Calvinist Orthodoxy," in Richard H. Popkin and Ardo Vanderjagt, ed., *Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993).

[41] Nicholas Jolley, "The reception of Descartes' philosophy," in John Cottingham, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Descartes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992), p. 396.

[42] Jeffrey K. Jue, *Heaven upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2006), pp. 231f.

[43] Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche. Zweiter Band, Das siebenzehnte Jahrhundert oder die herrschende Kirche und die Sekten* (Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1852), p. 277. Besides Latin, Greek and Hebrew, van Schurman knew Syriac, Chaldean, Arabic and Ethiopian. Among modern European languages, she was fluent in Dutch, German, English, French and Italian. See Joyce Irwin, "Anna Maria Van Schurman: From Feminism to Pietism," *Church History* 46:1 (March 1977), p. 50. Irwin has recently translated van Schurman's best known work: Anna Maria van Schurman, *Whether a Christian Woman Should be Educated and Other Writings from Her Intellectual Circle*, Joyce L. Irwin, tr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Voetius out of devotion to her teacher.[44] In 1669, however, she left the Reformed church to associate with the separatist house community in Amsterdam under Jean de Labadie.

The federal theology of Coccejus represented the high point of the German Reformed approach to dogmatics. Coccejus used the biblical idea of covenant to describe God's redemptive work in the Old and New Testaments. Coccejus taught a double covenant—one of works, founded on humanity's relation to God in the state of nature, and one of grace, founded on humanity's relation to God in Christ.[45] While Voetius emphasized God's eternal decree and sovereignty, Coccejus made the history of salvation the centerpiece of his theology. God's covenants with his people in history would culminate in God's kingdom. Coccejus emphasized eschatological hope.[46] In October 1650, Leiden University, the leading northern European university of the time, offered Coccejus the chair of theology as successor to Friedrich Spanheim, who had died in May 1649.[47] Coccejus gained an international reputation in his lifetime, seeking to bring renewal to theology and church life within the Reformed churches in the Netherlands and Germany.[48] His correspondents included the leading thinkers of his day, including Johann Hoornbeeck, Abraham Heidanus, Ludwig Capellus, Johann Heinrich Heidegger in Zürich and Ludwig Tronchin in Geneva.[49] Coccejus' opponents within the Reformed tradition labeled him Pelagian, Judaist,

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[44] Grayling, *Descartes*, pp. 145f.

[45] J.F. Goeters, "Föderaltheologie," in Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller, ed., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Bd. 12* (Berlin: deGruyter, 1984), pp. 246–251. Hans Schneider pointed to Coccejus and his eschatological speculations as a source for the chiliastic views of radical Reformed Pietists. See Schneider, "Die unerfüllte Zukunft. Apokalyptische Erwartungen im radikalen Pietismus um 1700," in Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen, ed. *Jahrhundertwednden. Endzeit- und Zukunftsvorstellungen vom 15. Bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), pp. 187–212.

[46] See Eugene Osterhaven, "Introduction," Gisbertus Voetius and Johannes Hoornbeeck, *Spiritual Desertion*, p. 17.

[47] Heiner Faulenbach, *Weg und Ziel der Erkenntnis Christi. Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des Johannes Coccejus* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), p. 133.

[48] Faulenbach, *Weg und Ziel*, p. 139. "Coccejus strebte eine Erneuerung von Theologie und Kirche an. Seine Föderaltheologie wollte als Ergebnis einer von aristotelischen, ramistischen wie cartesianischen Begriffen und Denkoperationen freien exegetischen Erforschung der Schrift ein weltoffenes, zeitgemäßes, aber aus dem Wort Gottes allein seine Gestaltungskräfte gewinnendes Christentum prägen helfen."

[49] Gottlob Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im älteren Protestantismus, vornehmlich bei Johannes Cocceius* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1923), p. 6.

Arminian, Socinian, Labadist and chiliast. His supporters, however, defended him as "the grateful pupil of Calvin."[50]

In 1685 Bröske traveled to Utrecht where he heard several famed professors of theology—Leidecker, Mastricht, Witsius, Halerius, Graevius and Leudenius.[51] Peter van Mastricht (1630–1706) had served as theology professor in Frankfurt/Oder and Duisburg before moving to Utrecht to succeed Voetius in June of 1677. He was born in Köln where his family belonged to a community of Dutch-Reformed refugees. Later on in Duisburg, he was a fellow student with Undereyck at the Latin school. Van Mastricht exceeded his mentor Voetius in his vigorous opposition to Cartesianism, gaining a reputation as the most influential scholarly critic of Descartes in his day.[52] He engaged in polite but firm discussions with followers of de Labadie on the issue of separation from the established churches. He opposed separatism as unjustified and accused de Labadie of undermining true Christianity.[53] Under Voetius' influence, van Mastricht became enamoured with the field of practical theology. His magnum opus, *Theoretico-practica theologia* (Theoretical and Practical Theology) (1682 and 1687), was a two volume study devoted to helping pastors to become better preachers. Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards were appreciative readers of van Mastricht's work.[54] Van Mastricht was ecumenically-minded, hoping to see the day when Lutherans and Reformed would unite. His approach to theological differences was typically irenic and even-handed.[55]

Hermann Witsius (1636–1708) is recognized as one of the most appealing figures in Dutch church history. He lived by the motto,

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[50] Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund*, pp. 7–10. "Wenn die anderen sich gegenseitig befehden, dann will er schweigen und nur das sagen, was er gelernt hat. Auch in diesem Stück vertritt Coccejus in jenem rabiaten Zeitalter einen neuen Typus des Theologen."

[51] Bröske, "Brief."

[52] See Peter van Mastricht, *Novitatum cartesianarum gangraena, nobiliores plerasque corporis theologici partes arrodens et exedens, seu theologia cartesiana detecta* (Amsterdam: 1677).

[53] Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens, Bd. II*, p. 232.

[54] See Aza Goudriaan, *Gisbertus Voetius, Petrus van Mastricht, and Anthonius Driessen* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 15. An excerpt from Mastricht's *Theoretico-practica theologia* has recently been published, reproducing the 1770 English translation: Peter van Mastricht, *A Treatise on Regeneration*, Brandon G. Withrow, ed. (SDG Press, 2002).

[55] Adriaan C. Neele, "Petrus van Mastricht," in Traugott Bautz, ed. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon, Bd. XXVI* (2006), pp. 1119–1132. See also: Adriaan C. Neele, "The Art of Living unto God: A Study of Method and Piety in the *Theoretico-practica theologia* of Pertrus van Mastricht (1630–1706)" (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), and Aza Goudriaan, *Gisbertus Voetius, Petrus van Mastricht, and Anthonius Driessen* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

"In necessary matters unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things prudence and charity." Influenced by the Utrecht preacher Justus van den Vogaerdt, Witsius valued true heart-felt piety and promoted peace and unity among Christians. During the strife between the followers of Voetius and Coccejus, Witsius refused to identify with either party. He carefully evaluated the weaknesses and exaggerations of the federal system, and sought to mediate a settlement among the parties. In his widely read and often-reprinted book, *Twist des Heeren met sijn Wyngaert* (1669), Witsius denounced Cartesian philosophy and non-observance of the Sabbath.[56] While pastor in Leeuwarden (1668–1675), he cautioned his flock against the separatism of Labadie and the Labadists.

In April of 1680, Witsius was called to be professor in Utrecht. He devoted his academic energies to the field of systematic theology. His main work was *De oeconomia foderum Dei cum hominibus*, published in four volumes in 1677, and in a second edition in 1685 while Bröske was in Utrecht. Witsius sought to lead his readers not into disputation but to the simple piety of ancient apostolic Christianity, rooted in what all orthodox believers hold in common. While he belonged to the federalist school, which divided the covenant of grace into an economy under promise, an economy under law and an economy under the gospel, the system did not seem to him to be so essential that it should become the theme of countless books and sermons. He reduced the number of covenants in the covenant of grace to two and dropped other controversial propositions of Coccejus.[57] He simplified the federalist system and modified aspects of it that he thought were in conflict with orthodox dogmas. His federalist contemporaries sharply criticized Witsius for these deviations, some suggesting that he along with other fanatics had committed the sin against the Holy Spirit. A modern critic has suggested that Witsius was a second rate systematic theologian whose thought was confused and unoriginal.[58] His contribution lay more in his peace-loving personality than in his theology.

Later in 1685 Bröske went to Leiden where he heard lectures by three theology professors: Friedrich Spanheim the younger, Christoph

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[56] Aug. Ebrard and S.D. van Been, "Witsius, Hermannus," in D. Albert Hauck, ed., *Realenzyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Bd. 21, 3. Auflage* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), pp. 380f.

[57] Goeters, "Föderaltheologie," p. 251.

[58] Aug. Ebrard and S.D. van Been, "Witsius, Hermannus," pp. 382f.

Wittich and Le Mogne.[59] Spanheim (1632–1701) came to Leiden as Professor of Theology in 1670, filling the position held previously by Johannes Coccejus and, before that, his father Friedrich Spanheim the older. In 1671 the field of church history was assigned to him as well as oversight over the academic library. In his 1672 inaugural lecture he commended to his audience the study of the early church.[60] In 1684, the year before Bröske's arrival in Leiden, Spanheim was granted the title *Professor primarius* and released from the burden of giving regular lectures in order to devote himself to writing. He published over fifty books, not including collections of his sermons. Spanheim was an active polemicist, battling with Arminians, Cartesians, followers of Coccejus and the Jesuits. One of Spanheim's opponents described him as "an old Pope and Dictator over the academic and ecclesiastical realm, pronouncing and teaching infallibly *ex cathedra*."[61] Theologically, he was conservative and anti-Cartesian.

Christoph Wittich (1625–1687) was born into a Lutheran family in Brieg, Silesia. He later joined the Reformed church and studied theology at Groningen and Leiden. In Groningen he became friends with Johannes Clauberg, an enthusiastic defender of Descartes. The two met up again in Herborn where they served together on the faculty. In 1652 they were both appointed to chairs at Duisburg, Wittich in theology and Clauberg in philosophy. Wittich finally moved to Leiden where he attracted "more students than all the other [professors] combined."[62] Wittich was part of a circle of "Calvinist Copernicans" who defended the views of Descartes.[63] In arguing for the compatibility of

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[59] Bröske, "Brief," fol. 3v. For some reason, Bröske's name does not appear in the Leiden matriculation records. See Guilielmus du Rieu, ed. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae, MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875).

[60] *Oratio paranaetica pro commendando studio ecclesiasticae antiquitatis*. See O. Thelemann, S.D. van Been, "Spanheim, Friedrich (der jüngere)," in D. Albert Hauck, ed., *Realenzyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Bd. 18, 3. Auflage* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), p. 575.

[61] O. Thelemann, S.D. van Been, "Spanheim, Friedrich (der jüngere)," p. 575. His 1694 publication, *Brevis Introductio ad Historiam sacram utriusque Testamenti, ac praecipue Christianam ad A. 1598 inchoata jam Reformata*, was widely used as a handbook in academic instruction.

[62] Ernestine van der Wall, "Cartesianism and Cocceianism: a natural alliance?" in Michelle Magdelaine et al., ed., *De l'humanisme aux lumieres, Bayle et le protestantisme: mélanges en l'honneur d'Elisabeth Labrousse* (Paris: Universitas and Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), p. 448. Van der Wall cites a letter of Pierre Bayle in making this point.

[63] Van der Wall noted that "when talking about the relationship between Cartesianism and theology in the Dutch Republic, we have to distinguish between three different groups: 1) those who combined Cocceianism with Cartesianism; 2) those who only

the Copernican theory with biblical revelation, Wittich made use of the physics and idea of motion in Descartes. He found in Descartes' *Principia philosophiae* "a 'mathematical proof' of the motion of the earth." Wittich found Cartesian philosophy to be fully compatible with scripture. Truths discovered by reason are also revealed by God and cannot conflict with Revelation.[64] He portrayed those who attacked Descartes as subject to the schemes of the Devil, the "enemy of truth."[65] Jacob du Bois published a vigorous refutation of Wittich and Descartes in his *Veritas et authoritas sacra* of 1655. Du Bois' main argument was that Descartes offends against the literal sense and authority of the Bible. As for Wittich, "Wittich is not a disciple of Christ, but of Descartes, that pupil of the Jesuits who drew his cogitations not from the clear sacred sources but from an impure pit, never becoming so wise that he abjured Catholic religion."[66] Another opponent of Wittich was van Mastricht whose *Vindiciae veritatis* (1655) sought to prove that Descartes undermined both the book of nature as witness to God and the authority of Scripture.[67] In 1659 Wittich produced his *Consensus veritatis*, a massive 800 page refutation of his opponents whose title reads, "The agreement of the infallible revealed truth of Holy Scriptures with the philosophical truth discovered by Renatus des Cartes."[68]

In 1686 Bröske visited the Gelderland University in Harderwyck in order to spend some time with theology professor Johannes Meyer (1651–1725). Originally from the Landkreis Lippe in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Meyer held the chair of oriental studies in Harderwyck. A Christian Hebraist, Meyer would later publish an impressive treatise on Jewish holidays and a work that defended the Trinity from Old

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adhered to Cocceianism while rejecting Cartesianism; and lastly 3) those who did not favour Cocceianism, but were enthusiastic about combining Cartesianism and theology. 'Cartesian theology' could thus be propagated by different kinds of theologians." Christoph Wittich was among the first group of Cocceian-Cartesian theologians. See van der Wall, "Cartesianism and Cocceianism," p. 447.

[64] Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001), pp. 25f.

[65] Rienk Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans. The reception of the new astronomy in the Dutch Republic, 1575–1750* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2002), pp. 146–148, 256, 258. See Vermij, chapter 12, "Copernicanism as a theological problem: the Wittich affair," pp. 256–271.

[66] Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans*, p. 259.

[67] Ibid., pp. 259–261. The full title of van Mastricht's work is: "Vindication of the truth and authority of Holy Scripture in philosophical matters against the dissertations by Chr. Wittichius."

[68] Ibid., p. 266.

Testament books and used illustrations from rabbinic and kabbalistic writings.[69] After Harderwyck, Bröske traveled to Amsterdam and Rotterdam before sailing to England.

During his Holland sojourn Bröske encountered competing estimations of Descartes among Reformed thinkers. In van Mastricht, Witsius and Spanheim he met up with the strong anti-Cartesianism of Voetius while in Christoph Wittich he found an enthusiastic defender of the Frenchman. Bröske had already decided in favour of Descartes while a student in Marburg; there is no reason to think that he changed his mind on the matter while in Holland. During this time Bröske also heard arguments against separatism as represented by Jean de Labadie. Finally, Bröske experienced a growing irenicism among Dutch scholars and a desire to promote unity among the two main Protestant confessions.

These travels in the Netherlands opened Bröske to a new world of contacts that benefited his later career. In the 1690s he made lecture trips to Dutch cities to spread Philadelphian teaching. His book *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ* (the Antichrist Revealed) was based on lectures Bröske had given in Holland: "First presented in public orally in a distinguished city in Holland, and now brought to press by someone who hates the beast and confesses Christ, 1692."[70] Bröske became acquainted with Dutch pastors and theologians whose works he later translated into German.[71] He also translated a 1692 Latin commentary on the epistle to the Hebrews by the Dutchman Peter van Hoeke.[72]

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[69] Johannes Meyer, *Yamim Tovim. Sive diatribe de origine et caussis festorum Judaeorum* (Amsterdam: Joh. Wolters, 1693), 414 pages; and Joh. Meyeri. *Dissertatio theologica de mysterio S.S. Trinitatis ex solius V.T. libris demonstrato, atque ex veterum & recentiorum Rabbinorum, praesertim Cabbalistarum rarissimis monumentis illustrato* (Harderovici: 1712).

[70] Strieder, *Grundlage, Volume 1*, p. 52: "Ehemals öffentlich und mündlich in einer vornehmen holländischen Stadt vorgestellet, und nun zum Druck beschrieben von einem, welcher das Thier hasset und Christum Bekennet. 1692."

[71] One of these was Leiden Pastor Marcus van Peene's commentary on Paul's epistle to the Romans:

Marcus van Peene, Prediger des Göttlichen Worts zu Leyden, *Gründliche Untersuchung und völlige Erklärung des Brieffs Pauli an die Römer: Welche in zwantzig Jahren Zeit verfasset. Worinnen die in diesem Brieffe enthaltene Wahrheiten dermassen deutlich ausgeleget und in ihrer Verknüpffung gezeiget werden, Daß Ein jeder nicht alleine die darinnen enthaltene Glaubens- und Lebens-Regeln . . . sehen kan, Die Nunmehr wegen ihrer sonderbahren Vortrefflichkeit ins Hochteutsche übersetzet worden, von Konrad Brüßken* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Gedruckt bey Johann Philipp Andreä, MDCXCVII, und Bremen: Philipp Gottfried Saurmann, 1697).

[72] *Petri Van Hoeke, Dieners am Wort Gottes, Zergliederende Außlegung Des Send-Brieffs An die Hebräer; Worbey vorläuffig eine allgemeine Einleitung befindlich. Aus der Lateinischen in die Nieder-Deutsche, nunmehro aber auch wegen ihrer Vortrefflich- und Nutzbarkeit in die Hoch-Teutsche Sprache treulichst übersetzet Von Conrad Brüßken, Hochgräffl. Isenburg. und Buding. Hoff-Predigern*

Bröske in England: London and Oxford

It was customary for students from the Genevan Academy to continue their studies in England, so Bröske's trip there in 1686 followed good precedent.[73] Bröske traveled with letters of introduction from Friedrich Spanheim and delivered Spanheim's greetings to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Oxford.[74] Spanheim's strong ties with England are evident in the fact that in 1695, at the death of Queen Mary, wife of King William III, Spanheim was commissioned to give the funeral address.[75]

In describing his time in England Bröske mentioned visits with "learned and distinguished men among whom were Dr. Horneck of the Regius Chapel in London, Dr. Pococke, Regius Professor of Oriental Languages in Christ College, and Mr. Bernard, Regius Professor, both at Oxford."[76] Dr Anthony Horneck (1641–1697) was a native German, growing up in the Palatinate and studying under Frederick Spanheim at Heidelberg University. He was well-read in Hebrew, Arabic and rabbinical literature. He immigrated to England in 1661, shortly after the Restoration, and converted to Anglicanism. In 1671 he was appointed preacher at the Savoy Chapel in London and was so popular, according to legend, that chairs had to be set up outside the windows to accommodate the crowds.[77] Three years after Spener's *Pia Desideria* appeared, Horneck began establishing small religious societies in London similar to Spener's.[78] The precise degree of Pietist influence upon Horneck is disputed.[79] Horneck brought to High Anglicanism Pietist emphases

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zu Offenbach (Franckfurt am Mayn: Getruckt und zu finden, bey Johann Philipp Andrea, Buchdruck- und Händlern, 1707).

[73] See Klauber, "Family Loyalty and Theological Transition," p. 56.

[74] "He took with him good letters of commendation from Mr. Spanheim in Leiden to be presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Oxford, letters which greeted each one by name." Bröske, "Brief," fol. 3v.

[75] O. Thelemann, S.D. van Been, "Spanheim, Friedrich (der jüngere)," p. 575.

[76] Bröske, "Brief," fol. 3v.

[77] "Horneck, Anthony (1641–1697)," in Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, ed., *The Dictionary of National Biography, volume IX* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949–1950), pp. 1261f.

[78] For a contemporary account of the religious societies established by Horneck see: Josiah Woodward, *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London* (London: 1701, 3rd ed.).

[79] Martin Schmidt argued for Pietist influence on Horneck, while Gordon Rupp thought that Horneck's Pietist contacts were minimal. See Scott Kisker, "John Wesley's Puritan and Pietist Heritage Reexamined," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 34:2 (Fall 1999), p. 272 n. 20.

upon new birth, good works and holy living, and a dislike of theological debates on the fine points of theology. He stipulated that in the small gatherings members "shall not be allowed to discourse of any controverted point of divinity." To avoid any leanings towards separatism, he called on members to "keep close to the Church of England." Membership was restricted to confirmed Anglicans, prayers were taken from the prayer-book and each group was under the leadership of a priest.[80] Horneck had a great love of the early church and in his many books called for imitation of the early Christian way of life in fasting, prayer and good works.[81] Conrad Bröske's esteem for Horneck and his views is evident in Bröske's decision to translate into German Horneck's English translation of a book entitled, *The Holy Life of the First Christians*.[82]

Edward Pococke (1604–1691) first pursued "oriental studies" in Hebrew and Arabic under the tutelage of the German Arabic scholar Matthias Pasor and William Bedwell, father of Arabic scholarship in England. Thanks to five years in Aleppo, from 1630 to 1635, he not only read Arabic but spoke it fluently. He also read Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Ethiopic. Pococke came to the attention of William Laud who, as Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed him to the newly founded Chair of Arabic at Oxford. Pococke took up the position on August 10, 1636. His duties included lecturing on Arabic grammar and literature at eight o'clock every Wednesday morning during Lent and vacations. Laud encouraged Pococke to visit Constantinople for his scholarly betterment and gave him the authority to purchase and bring back to England any manuscripts of value that he might find. Through the

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[80] Eamon Duffy, "Primitive Christianity Revived: Religious Renewal in Augustan England," in Derek Baker, ed., *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History: Studies in Church History* (Oxford: 1977), pp. 290f.; and Kisker, "John Wesley's Puritan and Pietist Heritage," pp. 272f.

[81] Duffy, "Primitive Christianity Revived," pp. 290f.; Kelly D. Carter, "The High Church Roots of John Wesley's Appeal to Primitive Christianity," in *Restoration Quarterly* 37:2 (1995). Horneck defended his new religious societies by appeal to the model of the early Church. See Anthony Horneck, *The Happy Ascetick: or, The best exercise. To which is added a letter to a person of quality concerning the holy lives of the primitive Christians* (London: Joshuah Phillips and Joseph Watts, 1681); *The Sirenes; or Delight and Judgment* (London: H. Clark, 1690 2nd ed.). Among later readers of Horneck's writings was John Wesley. (Kisker, p. 272).

[82] Conrad Bröske, *Das heilige Leben der Ersten Christen, Wie dasselbige von Weyland Herrn. D. Hornecken, von Grosbrittania Hofpredigern, aus einem französ. Schreiben . . . in Englischer Sprache entworffen, und nun auß dem Englischen ins Teutsche gebracht, und in einigen Stücken mit dem heutigen Christenthum verglichen* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1699). 96 pages.

aid of scholarly-minded Muslims and Jews, he collected 420 Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopic and Armenian manuscripts, all of which now reside in the Bodleian library. As "the finest European Arabist of his time," Pococke possessed an unusual sympathy for Islamic literature and culture.[83] Pococke's work in Oxford was interrupted by the English Civil War; he was largely absent from the city between 1650 and 1660. He was restored to his Chair on August 10, 1660 and gained a comfortable position and lodgings at Christ Church, with a garden now famous for its fig tree, "Arbor Pocockiana," imported from Syria. Among his friends, Pococke counted the Puritan scholar John Owen (1616–1683) and the philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). Locke remarked on Pococke's "great learning," his "modesty and unaffected humility," and his liberal mind. "He was always unaffectedly cheerful."[84] Not surprisingly, Pococke was popular among visiting scholars.

> His name, which was in great esteem beyond sea, and that deservedly, drew on him visits from all foreigners of learning who came to Oxford to see that university. They never failed to be highly satisfied with his great knowledge and civility.[85]

One of these learned, and doubtless satisfied, visitors was Conrad Bröske.

Edward Bernard (1638–1697) thrived as a young student under Pococke's lectures and guidance. Bernard himself became skilled in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac and Coptic. He contributed an appendix on ancient weights and measures to Pococke's Hosea commentary of 1685. Bernard was also a skilled mathematician, becoming a reader in mathematics in 1663, and then for eighteen years (1673–1691) was the Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, succeeding Christopher Wren. His educational travels took him on numerous occasions to Leiden in the Netherlands, and he was hopeful of winning a professorship in theology there. He earned his doctor of divinity degree there in 1684. In 1691 Bernard became rector of Brightwell in Berkshire. A couple

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[83] "Pococke, Edward (1604–1691)," in Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, ed., *The Dictionary of National Biography, volume XVI* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949–1950), pp. 7–11.

[84] Anthony A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, Volume IV*, Philip Bliss, ed. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969 reprint of the third edition of 1820), columns 318–323.

[85] John Locke in a letter to Mr. Smith of Dartmouth, dated July 23, 1703. See Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, Volume IV*, col. 322.

of years later, "in his elderly years, he took to him a young and comely wife called Eleanor Howell."[86] His other great love was editing the writings of the ancients, above all Josephus. Like his mentor, Bernard was marked by both brilliance and modesty, and shared Pococke's love of ancient books. It has been observed that "many of the most valuable books both printed and mss. now in the Bodleian library" came from the study of Dr. Bernard.[87] He was amiable towards all, and had "the most charitable feelings towards dissenters of all denominations."[88]

Bröske expedited his return from England to participate in Heidelberg's *Jubiläum*; founded on 1 October 1386, the University was celebrating its 300th anniversary. Bröske then returned to Offenbach, having been newly called as court preacher and first preacher (*Hofprediger* and *ersten Prediger*) due to the death of his predecessor. Soon after his arrival, Bröske was ordained by the Reformed church council in Heidelberg.[89]

Conclusion

Bröske set out on his educational travels with two goals in mind: to meet learned theologians and to master the languages of Holland, England and Geneva. Along with the first goal, Bröske achieved the second objective as well. He said that he gained complete fluency in all three languages—Dutch, English and French.[90] He later used these linguistic skills to translate works from English, Dutch and Latin into Low and High German.[91]

Among the factors that shaped Bröske's future career and thought, his educational travels undoubtedly played a significant part. In each place he visited Bröske met and learned from "the most distinguished

[86] Ibid., col. 702–704.
[87] Ibid., col. 709.
[88] Ibid., col. 706.
[89] Bröske, "Brief."
[90] Bröske, "Brief," ms. pg. 3v.
[91] For example: Petri van Hoeke, Dieners am Wort Gottes, *Zergliederende Außlegung Des Send-Brieffs An die Hebräer; Worbey vorläuffig eine allgemeine Einleitung befindlich. Aus der Lateinischen in die Nieder-Deutsche, nunmehro aber auch wegen ihrer Vortrefflich- und Nutzbarkeit in die Hoch-Teutsche Sprache treulichst übersetzet Von Conrad Brüßken, Hochgräffl. Isenburg, und Buding. Hoff-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Franckfurt am Mayn, Getruckt und zu finden, bey Johann Philipp Andrea, Buchdruck- und Händlern, 1707). 360 pages.

scholars of the day."[92] Exposure to leading Calvinist universities and theologians deepened Bröske's Reformed credentials and theological understanding. Johann Konrad Dippel complained that Bröske always found Reformed theology when he read the Bible. Bröske's discussion of Adam in innocence under the covenant of works reflected typical scholastic methodology. Dippel rejected Bröske's distinction between justification and sanctification; it was good orthodoxy, but not biblical. "The Reformed find in the Bible the Reformed word of God, the Lutherans the Lutheran."[93] As for the influence of the English scholars, Bröske evidently learned from Horneck to love and respect the piety of the early church. With Pococke he came to share a fascination with the cultural legacy of the Arab world, evident in the accounts of Bröske's baptism of a young Muslim girl. With Bernard he shared an equanimity towards the various confessions of the day.

Bröske's English connections would shape him in decisive ways in the future. He made two more trips to England in 1690 and 1693.[94] During these visits he encountered in Thomas Beverley and Jane Leade the Philadelphian spirituality that would stamp him as eccentric and heterodox in the eyes of many of his Reformed colleagues back in Germany. These threads will be picked up in chapters five to seven.

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[92] Johann Christoph Adelung, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgemeinem Gelehrten-Lexico, worin die Schriftsteller aller Stände nach ihren vornehmsten Lebensumständen und Christen beschrieben werden, Erster Band, A und B* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditschens Handlung, 1784), col. 2281.

[93] "Weil das Gericht über die Hure Babels nahe ist…lasset Gott heut zu Tag alle diese menschliche Ordnungen im Gottesdienst vernichten." Johann Konrad Dippel, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauf der Christen aus Gottes Wort beschrieben* (1700), in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), p. 586.

[94] Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), p. 134; and Direktor Dr. Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule* (Offenbach a. Main: Heinrich Cramer, 1912), pp. 16f. The purpose of these trips was to raise funds for establishing a Latin school in Offenbach. See chapter three for more on these trips.

CHAPTER THREE

HOFPREDIGER IN OFFENBACH, 1686–1713: THE LIFE AND WORLD OF A LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN COURT PREACHER

The Reformed Territory of Ysenburg-Offenbach

Count Johann Philipp II of Ysenburg-Offenbach (1655–1718) appointed Conrad Bröske as his court preacher in 1686 when Bröske was just twenty-six years of age. Bröske served in this position until he died in 1713. Bröske was also first preacher in the Count's new city residence of Offenbach.[1] The Count's need for a new residence arose in 1687 when, following two years of joint rule, Johann Philipp and his brother Wilhelm Moritz decided to divide up their father's inheritance. Wilhelm Moritz made Birstein his residence while Johann Philipp chose to reside in Offenbach. Such a decision was common at the time. The continual splitting up of territories meant that many were so small that they were little more than a private estate.[2] In 1683 Offenbach comprised some sixty-three households[3] and about six hundred

[1] Second preacher from 1687–1698 was Bröske's relative Johann Christoph Bröske, and from 1698 until 1706 the position was held by Conrad's brother Johann Hermann Bröske. See Wilhelm Diehl, *Pfarrer- und Schulmeisterbuch für die hessen-darmstädtischen Souveränitätslande: Hessia Sacra,* vol. IV (Darmstadt, 1930), p. 394 and Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 131ff.

[2] Fritz Wolff observed: "Die bis zum Ende des Reiches trotz der Familienpakten und Primogeniturordnungen fortgesetzten Teilungen . . . schufen eine Reihe von kleinen und kleinsten Territorien, die manchmal wenig mehr als ein ansehnliches Gut darstellten. Eine kleine Grafschaft mit einigen Quadratmeilen Gebietsumfang—Solms-Lich umfaßte vier, Laubach drei, Rödelheim zwei, Stolberg Gedern kaum anderthalb Quadratmeilen—und ein paar tausend Untertanen brachte jährlich vielleicht 30,000 oder 40,000 fl. an Einkünften." See Fritz Wolff, "Grafen und Herren in Hessen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," in Walter Heinemeyer, ed., *Das Werden Hessens* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1986), pp. 342f.

[3] By 1698 it had increased to 129 households. See Klaus Peter Decker, "Graf Johann Philipp zu Ysenburg und Büdingen, der Gründer Neu-Isenburgs," in Heidi Fogel und Matthias Loesch, ed., *Aus Liebe und Mitleiden gegen die Verfolgten: Beiträge zur Gründungsgeschichte Neu-Isenburgs* (Neu-Isenburg: Walter Thiele, 1999), p. 134. Hans-Jurgen Schrader put the number of houses and inhabitants in the Graf's territory in 1687 significantly

residents.[4] Besides Offenbach, the Count's total territory included Dreieich, two villages in the Birstein region, the Ronneburg Castle, Selbold, Langendiebach and any courts in these places.[5] One estimate puts the number of households in Johann Philipp's territory in 1698 at 730 and the total population figure at 2,500 inhabitants.[6]

The Salvatorkirche in Offenbach was founded in 977 A.D. by Emperor Otto II. Offenbach had belonged to the Counts of Isenburg since 1419; in 1559 it became the residence city of Count Reinhard of Isehnburg-Büdingen.[7] The Castle of the Counts of Isenburg was destroyed by fire in 1564 but was completely restored in the 1570s. It remains one of the most impressive and costly Renaissance castles of the sixteenth century. The attractive main building has an imposing ground level, the height of which equals that of the two upper levels. The Terrakotta Frieze that was formerly in the Great Hall is now in the Darmstadt Landesmuseum. The Evangelical Schloßkirche, or Castle Church, was constructed in 1703; a west tower was added in 1713, the year of Bröske's death. In 1717 and 1718 the French Reformed Church was constructed to meet the needs of the many French Huguenots who settled in the region.[8]

The territory of the Count was located in the Wetterau region adjacent to Hesse-Kassel.[9] Count Johann Philipp II was Reformed-Calvinist, as was the entire *Wetterauer Grafenverein*, an association of counts committed to advancing their mutual peace and prosperity. The association included the houses of Nassau, Hanau, Solms, Stolberg, Isenburg, Leiningen, Sayn, Wittgenstein, Wied, Hatzfeld, Falkenstein and the Rhein counts.[10] In 1596 the Ysenburg prince and the other counts converted

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lower than Decker's figures: "That left him [Johann Philipp] with a territory of mainly agricultural land that included about 50 houses and 600 inhabitants." See Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 133.

[4] See Monika Vogt, *Die Ansiedlungen der französischen Glaubensflüchtlinge in Hessen nach 1685. Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der sogenannten Hugenottenarchitektur* (Darmstadt und Marburg: Selbstverlag der Hessischen Historischen Kommission Darmstadt und der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, 1990), p. 273.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Klaus Peter Decker, "Graf Johann Philipp," pp. 134, 110–112.

[7] Georg Dehio and Ernst Gall, ed., *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler. Südliches Hessen* (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1950), p. 52.

[8] Dehio and Gall, *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler. Südliches Hessen*, pp. 52f.

[9] Named for the Wetter River, the Wetterau region is found between Taunus and Vogelsberg, the Lahn river and the Main river. See Gerhard Köbler, ed., *Historisches Lexikon der deutschen Länder, 6. Auflage* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1999), p. 716.

[10] Karl Demandt noted the unique political tradition that arose in this part of Hesse.

to Calvinism.[11] The counts were impressed by the Reformed emphases upon self-discipline and training the laity in church and school to a life devoted to duty, obedience to authorities and avoidance of sin.[12] In 1605 Landgraf Moritz (1572–1632) chose to align Hesse-Kassel with the Reformed confession.[13] Moritz maintained close relations with the Wetterau counts with whom he shared the Reformed faith, especially Johann VI von Nassau-Dillenburg, Ludwig von Sayn-Wittgenstein and Konrad von Solms. He was also connected to the *Wetterauer Grafenverein* through his wife, Countess Agnes von Solms-Laubach.[14]

Hesse-Darmstadt, however, remained Lutheran. This led to especially bitter conflicts among the territories during the Thirty Years War as they experienced some of the worst devastation of any region in the German Empire. This tragic period is graphically portrayed in the famous work of Hessen author von Grimmelshausen, *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch*.[15] In 1637 alone some eighteen cities, forty-seven noble estates

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The *Städtebünde* and *Grafenverein* meant that the cities and counts in the region were closely allied in advancing its peace and prosperity, an association that continued for centuries. See Karl E. Demandt, *Geschichte des Landes Hessen, 2. Auflage* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1980), pp. 457f., 476–480. In 1495 the Worms Reichstag recognized the *Grafenverein* as a *Reichsstandschaft*, and after 1512 the *Grafenverein* sent a representative to the meetings of the Reichstag. In 1501 the *Grafenverein* included Friedberg, Gelnhausen, Kronberg, Reifenberg, Falkenstein, Staden, Dorheim, Lindheim, and gräfliche Häuser Nassau-Katzenelnbogen, Nassau-Beilstein, Solms-Braunfels, Solms-Lich, Hanau-Münzenberg, Hanau-Lichtenberg, Isenburg-Büdingen, Isenburg-Grenzau, von Virneburg, von Sayn and von Pyrmont(-Ehrenberg). After the Thirty Years War, in 1652 the *Wetterauer Grafenverein* was renewed and included the houses of Nassau, Hanau, Solms, Stolberg, Isenburg, Leiningen, Sayn, Wittgenstein, Wied, Hatzfeld, Falkenstein and the Rheingrafen. (p. 479).

[11] Vogt, *Die Ansiedlungen der französischen Glaubensflüchtlinge*, p. 275.

[12] Georg Schmidt, *Der Wetterauer Grafenverein: Organisation und Politik einer Reichskorporation zwischen Reformation und Westfälischem Frieden* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1989), p. 472.

[13] See Gerhard Menk, *Landgraf Moritz der Gelehrte. Ein Kalvinist zwischen Politik und Wissenschaft.* (Marburg 2000), and also Menk, "Die 'Zweite Reformation' in Hessen-Kassel. Landgraf Moritz und die Einführung der Verbesserungspunkte," in Heinz Schilling, ed., *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der 'Zweiten Reformation'* (Gütersloh, 1986), pp. 154–183. On p. 156, n. 9 Menk summarises previous scholarship on the issue of Moritz's turn to the Reformed confession. See also Rudolf von Thadden, *Die Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Hofprediger im 17. und 18 Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1959), pp. 104f. Von Thadden suggests two main reasons why German territories turned to Calvinism: the influence of Dutch humanism, and the appeal of a more militant anti-Catholic mindset.

[14] Volker Press, "Hessen im Zeitalter der Landesteilung (1567–1655)," in Walter Heinemeyer, ed., *Das Werden Hessens* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1986), pp. 290, 294f.

[15] Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen was born in 1622 in Gelnhausen,

and 300 villages were destroyed.[16] After the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, it took over a century for many parts of the region to recover. Fortunately, in the years following the war the region was blessed with a series of strong and capable ruling princes led by Landgraf Karl von Hesse-Kassel (1654–1730). Numerous residence cities in Hesse and the Wetterau, including Offenbach, were marked by impressive recoveries.[17] A key stimulus to the economy was the arrival of Huguenot refugees from France, most of them skilled craftsmen and merchants. Many settled in rural regions such as Ysenburg-Offenbach.[18] "From 1698 on Count Johann Philipp welcomed Huguenot refugees from France and the southern Netherlands." He also granted protection and residence to German refugees regardless of religious confession.[19] Between 1699 and 1711 the Count achieved a dramatic increase in the territory's revenues.

The whole Wetterau region became a place of refuge for religious minorities who were oppressed by Orthodox Lutheran and Calvinist authorities in Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Franconia and Switzerland. These minorities included various sectarian groups, separatists, Baptists, Pietists, chiliasts, and Moravians (Herrnhuters). There were others as well, including Jews, the homeless, alchemists and astrologers.[20] The Wetterau territories "became in a special sense the nursery of the radical Pietist movement… the counties of Isenburg and Wittgenstein

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Hesse. The work was originally published in 1668–1669. For a modern edition, see Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003).

[16] Frank-Lothar Kroll, *Geschichte Hessens* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2006), p. 34.

[17] Kroll, *Geschichte Hessens*, p. 35.

[18] Kroll, *Geschichte Hessens*, p. 37. For a description of the French colony, "Neu-Isenburg," see Vogt, *Die Ansiedlungen der französischen Glaubensflüchtlinge*, pp. 284–299. In 1703 the colony consisted of sixty-eight families in a self-contained "Dorf." They had their own church, parsonage and school-house. The pastor was Jean Archer who received his salary from Holland. (p. 297)

[19] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 133. See also Decker, "Graf Johann Philipp," pp. 109–112. "…die Toleranzpolitik, die bei ihm sicher aus innerer Überzeugung kam, schien sich auszuzahlen. Dies dürfte die Bereitschaft vergrößert haben, neben den Hugenotten auch andere Verfolgte aus religiösen Randgruppen ins Land zu holen."

[20] Demandt, *Geschichte des Landes Hessen*, pp. 503f. Johannes Wallmann observed: "In der Grafschaft *Ysenburg-Büdingen* und den beiden Grafschaften *Sayn-Wittgenstein*… fanden radikale Pietisten dank der Toleranzpolitik reformierter Landesherren, die ihre vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg noch immer entvölkerten Länder 'peuplieren' wollten, Zuflucht und Bleibe." Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), p. 172.

were the focal points of the movement."[21] Pietism thrived under these tolerant German princes, whose power historically was probably never greater than in the late seventeenth century.

This is the setting in which Bröske came to exercise significant influence both in the court and in the cultural life of the territory of Ysenburg-Offenbach. It is evident from Bröske's involvements as adviser and confidant to the Count, Superintendent and Inspector of Schools for the Landeskirche, and censor of the Count's printing press, that Bröske served as the Count's influential *Berater* or intimate counselor, not merely a distant *Mahner* or moral conscience in the background. It was Bröske's good fortune to serve a prince of Reformed persuasion who was tolerant of radical chiliast ideas.

Protestant Court Preachers in Early Modern Germany: From Influential Advisers to Middle Class Professionals

The office of court preacher did not exist in Anglo-Saxon Protestantism; it was restricted mainly to Germany, Holland and Scandinavia. The circumstances in which the office arose in these countries included the relative autonomy of German princes and courts, and the right they possessed after the Peace of Augsburg and Peace of Westphalia to determine the religious confession of their realm. Also important in its rise was the assumption in early modern Europe that "all the measures and undertakings of a godly Prince," including the political, must be performed according to God's Word. These two factors explain the "unusually great importance" which evangelical court preachers attained in both ecclesiastical and political life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[22]

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[21] Chauncey David Ensign, "Radical German Pietism, c. 1675–c. 1760." Ph.D. Dissertation (Boston University Graduate School, 1955).

[22] Luise Schorn-Schütte, "Prediger an Protestantischen Höfen der Frühneuzeit," *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland*, ed. H. Schilling and H. Diederiks (Köln/Wien, 1985), p. 289. For recent scholarship on German clergy and court preachers see: Luise Schorn-Schütte and C. Scott Dixon, ed. *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), and Luise Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit: Dargestellt am Beispiel des Fürstentums Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, der Landgrafschaft Hessen-Kassel und der Stadt Braunschweig* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996). The latter work is based on the author's habilitation thesis at JL Universität in Gießen, accepted in June 1992.

The court preacher's duties were many. Bröske faithfully taught the fundamentals of the Reformed faith according to the *Heidelberg Catechism*,[23] instructing young children as well as preaching publicly from the *Catechism* year by year to his congregation in Offenbach. His commentary on the *Catechism* went through four editions and was used as a model by churches in other regions.[24] Bröske preached regularly before the prince and his family in court worship services and provided spiritual counsel to the prince. He also served as a kind of bishop in overseeing the Landeskirche, the church in the prince's territory. In this role he exercised great influence in the court, and held the social rank of "Honoratioren."[25]

Some idea of the expectations and ideals that belonged to the role of a seventeenth century court preacher can be found in the *Mirror of a Court Preacher* (*Hofpredigerspiegel*) of 1605, by Polycarp Leyser. He formulated nine rules intended to guide the court preacher in "upholding an exemplary life."[26] Leyser's rules were the following: first, the duty of pure preaching without regard for the person; second, an honourable, Christian way of life in the court preacher himself; third, modesty with the income that is granted to the court preacher; fourth, obedience and discretion, truth and honesty in dealing with rulers, so far as humanly possible; fifth, restricting oneself to one's own calling; sixth, strict observance of church ordinances; seventh, turning aside all gifts and bestowments; serving simply out of love of neighbour; eighth, showing proper honour to the prince; the preacher should never denounce the prince, but be reserved in criticism; the only exception is when he

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[23] In 1563 Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate invited Kaspar Olevianus and Zacharius Ursinus, two theologians at the University of Heidelberg, to compose a catechism that could unite the churches in his territory and be used to instruct the youth. The result was the *Heidelberg Catechism*, completed in November 1563 and put into use in January 1564. Marked by a moderate Calvinism and devotional warmth, it is still widely used among Reformed Churches. See Thomas F. Torrance, ed., *The School of Faith: The Catechisms of the Reformed Church* (London: 1959); Walter Hollweg, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Heidelberger Catechismus* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1968); Derk Visser, ed. *Controversy and Conciliation: The Reformation and the Palatinate, 1559–1583* (Allison Park, Pa.: 1986).

[24] Conrad Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede wider die von einigen zu der Elberfeldischen Classe gehörigen Herrn Prediger, ohne sein Verschulden hinter ihm her mit Unrecht ausgestreuete Schmachreden* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 12. März 1705), p. 14.

[25] See Bernd Moeller, *Pfarrer als Bürger* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); and Rudolf von Thadden, *Die Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Hofprediger im 17. und 18 Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1959), p. 10.

[26] Schorn-Schütte, "Prediger an Protestantischen Höfen der Frühneuzeit," p. 324. "Alle neuen Regeln zielten auf ein vorbildliches Leben der Hofprediger."

offends against one of the ten commandments, in which case he should be admonished; ninth, exercising patience in dealing with the experiences and people one encounters in life.[27] Leyser encouraged court preachers to keep their distance from the court; otherwise, it would be more difficult for them to fulfill their task of admonishing its members to a Christian way of life.

On the question of the social origin and prestige of court preachers in the seventeenth century, Schorn-Schütte found that noble origin for clergy was increasingly rare, due in part to their poor remuneration.

> The office of Protestant clergy was not of interest to the nobility. As a reason for this, Wunder points to the reduction in social significance of the class of preacher after the Reformation. This was due to the fact that the majority of territorial preachers were paid extremely poorly.[28]

In the late sixteenth century the court preacher came in at about third place in income after the upper officials of the central administration and those of the court. One typical court preacher's salary included: seventy florins of gold; forty-one quarters of grain; six animals (pigs), one Fuder (1,000 litres) of beer, thirty-six yards of cloth. One court preacher, however, complained that without a raise in salary he simply could not make ends meet. The Landgraf then awarded him as additional salary: free lodging, two Ohm (300 l.) Wine, one piece of

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[27] Ibid., p. 324 n. 200:
- i) Verpflichtung zur reinen Predigt ohne Ansehen der Person;
- ii) Ehrlicher, christlicher Lebenswandel des Hofpredigers selbst;
- iii) Bescheidung mit dem Einkommen, das dem Hofprediger gewährt wird;
- iv) Gehorsam, verschwiegen, wahrhaftig und redlich gegenüber der Herrschaft, soweit menschenmöglich; Zurückhaltung in den Amtspflichten ihnen gegenüber;
- v) Beschränkung allein auf den eigenen Beruf;
- vi) Strikte Einhaltung der Kirchenordnung;
- vii) Ablehnung aller Geschenke und Gaben, Dienst am Mitmenschen aus Nächstenliebe;
- viii) Jeder soll die ihm zustehende Verehrung erhalten; keine Denunziation beim Fürsten, Zurückhaltung in der Kritik, ausgenommen die Regeln der Zehn Gebote; diese sollen angemahnt werden;
- ix) Geduld gegenüber Ereignissen und Mitmenschen.

[28] Ibid., p. 315f. "Das Amt des protestantischen Geistlichen für den Adel nicht von Interesse war. Eine Begründung dafür deutet Wunder an, der wiederholt auf das Nachlassen der sozialen Bedeutung des Pfarrerstandes nach der Reformation hinweist. Daß diese Erscheinung ihre Ursache auch darin hatte, daß die Mehrzahl der Landpfarrer äußerst schlecht besoldet war, mag für diese Gruppe Erklärung sein… Die wirtschaftlich angespannte Lage der protestantischen Geistlichkeit war ein Problem seit der Reformation."

beef, ten Klafter (thirty cubic meters) of wood, and one Fuder (1,000 litres) of coal.[29]

The political and social position of German court preachers changed significantly in the course of the seventeenth century, during the transition from the early modern to the modern period. Indeed, Luise Schorn-Schütte has suggested that as a social group they "in some measure 'personified' the change from early modern to modern."[30] Schorn-Schütte identified two changes in the social status of the court preacher after the mid-seventeenth century.[31] First, there was a loss of political function, leading to a new field of social influence. "The political adviser [*Berater*] is replaced by the instructor [*Mahner*] in the background without direct political influence." Second, Protestant pastors took on the character of a profession. "A particular social origin, standardized education, standardized place of work, and professional standards are the categories that constitute a social group as a profession."[32] All of these characterized the new professional status of the court preacher.

Previously, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the godly Prince had needed the court preacher as his close personal adviser in church-political questions. Not surprisingly, the method of appointment of the court preacher was similar in all three territories examined by Schorn-Schütte: he was appointed entirely and directly by the Lord in that region.[33] However, at the end of the Thirty Years War the role and office of court preacher lost something of its influence and proximity to power.[34] "In the age of Absolutism, territorial Lords required church leaders to be, if not confessionally neutral, at least tolerant and accepting of the Lord's right to interfere in church matters."[35] The

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[29] Ibid., pp. 321f. "Bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte des 17. Jahrhunders scheint sich an dieser Bezahlung nichts geändert zu haben…"

[30] Ibid., p. 280. "Es handelte sich um eine soziale Gruppe, die den Wandel von der Vormoderne zur Moderne gewissermaßen 'personifizierte.'"

[31] Ibid., pp. 275–336.

[32] Ibid., pp. 306f. "Herkunft, standardisierte Ausbildung, standardisierter gesellschaftlicher Handlungsort sowie normkontrolliertes Selbstverständnis sind die Kategorien, mit deren Hilfe die Konstitution einer sozialen Gruppe als Berufsstand beschrieben werden kann…"

[33] Ibid., p. 290. She focused on three regions: Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Darmstadt, and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.

[34] Ibid., p. 303. "Here we see a trend in all three of the territories being compared here."

[35] Ibid., p. 300. "Der Landesherr im Zeitalter des werdenden Absolutismus suchte

court preacher's role changed to an instructional function, assisting the Prince in his duty of service to his subjects, and a modelling function within the Court. The withdrawal from a *counsellor* function [Berater] to a *moral instructor* [Mahner] brought with it a withdrawal from the political sphere. Fewer and fewer court preachers held significant political and social clout in the prince's court.

The earlier period corresponded to "the completely political function of the office . . . as a protector of social norms, while at the same time attaining a low level of professionalization." The second period was marked by the professionalization of the office as a middle class profession and the end of the political function. "The generalizing of worldly values after the Thirty Years War and resulting multi-confessionalism meant also the end of an accepted special role for the class of preachers."[36]

Bröske as Superintendent and Inspector of Schools in Ysenburg-Offenbach

When Conrad Bröske arrived in Offenbach in 1686 to assume office, his first concern was to establish respectable educational institutions in the county. In the period of reconstruction after the Thirty Years War it was widely recognized that the key to economic growth and general prosperity was improved access to education for all classes of society. This was especially true in the small territories of central Germany, including the regions of Gotha, Braunschweig, Hesse, Hanau and Magdeburg.[37] Religion was typically the main focus of instruction, whether

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dagegen den, wenn auch noch nicht konfessionsneutralen, so doch toleranten Theologen, der entsprechende Eingriffsrechte des landesherrlichen Kirchenregiments akzeptierte."

[36] Ibid., pp. 326f. "Die Generalisierung weltlicher Wertmuster als Konsequenz der Multikonfessionalität nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg bedeutete auch das Ende einer akzeptierten Sonderrolle des Pfarrerstandes."

[37] "Initially it was in the smaller states, and especially those of central Germany, where the first significant attention was given to school improvement; here, the traditions of pious, patriarchal rulership combined with the absence of expensive and distracting foreign policy and military concerns . . . Princes promulgated comprehensive school ordinances and provided for supervisory inspections and other means to insure the physical establishment of schools as well as adequate standards of curriculum and instruction." John Gagliardo, *Germany under the Old Regime: 1600–1790* (London: Longman, 1991), p. 188.

in rural parish schools or urban Latin schools, from the beginning right through to the intermediate stages of education.[38]

School facilities and resources were often minimal at this time.

> While every parish had a school, this did not necessarily mean a separate structure or one in an even reasonable state of repair. Often enough, school convened in a rented room or in the home of the pastor, sexton or artisan to whom the unrewarding task of playing teacher fell… Schools often had no books and frequently neither did the children, whose parents resented… the expense of books and of *Schulgeld*—the pittance paid to the schoolmaster—but also the absence of their children from working farms where every hand was needed for the survival of the family.[39]

Urban schools were generally better off than those in the country. In the cities there were typically two levels of instruction: the German schools (primary schools) where the youngest children were sent to learn reading, writing and perhaps some arithmetic, along with Bible and catechism; and Latin schools, where emphasis on religion was combined with teaching a command of Latin whereby students could gain admission to a university at the end of instruction, usually at about age sixteen. Here the teachers were often theology graduates still in search of a parish.[40] Sommerlad described Offenbach in the 1690s and the situation that Conrad Bröske faced:

> The region was at that time still small and insignificant. But in its favourable location for business and trade, as well as in the great privileges which Count Johann Philipp granted to all new foreign immigrants, the essential conditions were present for it to flourish. Soon the population multiplied… and new streets had to be laid out, and various new professions and vocations were required. And a good school for up to date higher education, alongside the already existing common school, could no longer be put off. This was recognized by the Court Preacher at the time, Conrad Bröske, a man who deserves a prominent place in the history of Offenbach schools.[41]

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[38] "In the rural or village parish schools, the education of peasant children consisted almost entirely of reading and reciting the catechism and other simple religious texts. In the urban Latin grammar schools, religion still remained the substantively most important subject and it was not until students entered the universities that it was possible to choose a curriculum not primarily oriented towards religion." Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 189.

[40] Ibid., p. 190.

[41] Dr. Sommerlad, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Schulwesens zu Offenbach a. M.* (Offenbach: 1892), p. 18. "Der Ort war damals… noch klein und unbedeutend; aber in seiner vorteilhaften Lage für Handel und Gewerbe, wie in den großen Vergünstigungen, welche Graf Johann Philipp allen hier sich niederlassenden Fremden gewährte, waren

It was Bröske's persistent efforts that finally led to establishing a Latin School.

Given the fragile economic situation in this part of Germany in the post-Thirty Years War period, efforts to improve school facilities and the quality of teaching faced great challenges. While Count Johann Philipp fully supported Bröske's plans for a Latin School, he was unable to supply the means necessary for building and maintaining it. As Inspector of schools, Bröske was forced to take up the task of personally raising the financial resources for the school. To that end, Bröske set out on two fund-raising trips on his prince's behalf.[42] In September 1690 Bröske went to Holland and England, equipped with an official letter of commission from the Count. The letter reflected on the importance of good schools to the life of a people:

> Schools and gymnasia are like . . . a nursery garden which serves the Church and the State to such a degree that everything blossoms and flourishes in the State when the schools are in good condition. For the hope for everything in later life depends upon a good education, which forms the foundation of the State . . .[43]

The Count lamented the destructive results of the Thirty Years' War throughout his lands, and the lack of available funds for projects such as schools. "In this local area many Reformed churches and schools have fallen into disuse on account of the war."[44]

From contacts he had made during his visits to these countries some four or five years earlier, Bröske was hopeful that he would soon raise the necessary support. Unfortunately, his efforts met with only limited

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sehr wesentliche Bedingungen für sein Aufblühen gegeben. Bald vermehrte sich auch die Bevölkerung von außen her, es mußten neue Straßen angelegt werden, und neue Berufsarten und Gewerbszweige bürgerten sich ein. Eine gute Schule für zeitgemäßen, höheren Unterricht durfte nun auch nicht länger neben der schon bestehenden Volksschule, von der weiter unten die Rede sein wird, fehlen. Dies erkannte der damalige Hofprediger Konrad Bröske, ein Mann, dem in der Geschichte des Offenbacher Schulwesens eine hervorragende Stelle gebührt."

[42] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 134.

[43] Direktor Dr. Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule* (Offenbach, 1912), p. 9. "Die Schulen aber und Gymnasien sind die Werkstätten, aus denen wie aus Pflanzschulen alle die hervorgehen, die der Kirche und dem Staate dienen oder sonst Ehre machen wollen, in so hohem Maße , daß alles im Staate blüht und gedeiht, wenn die Schulen in gutem Zustande sind. Denn die Hoffnung für das ganze spätere Leben hängt von einer guten Erziehung ab, die ja die ursprünglichste Grundlage des Staates bildet . . ."

[44] Ibid., pp. 10, 11. ". . . in hiesiger Nachbahrschaft viele reformirte Kirchen und Schulen durch die leidigen Kriegstroublen allbereits abgegangen seynd."

success. Bröske was denied permission by the Bishop of London to pursue public fundraising since England was faced with requests from so many sides. With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, French Reformed refugees had been arriving on England's shores and requiring support. Bröske did obtain a private gift of some two and a half pounds sterling from a London merchant named Cook.[45] In addition, Bröske was pleasantly surprised when he learned that through the Bishop's mediation, Queen Mary, wife of King William III, agreed to a grant of thirty pounds sterling annually in support of the school project. The grant would come from her own private charitable fund, and be paid out regularly up to the year 1716.[46]

Back home in Offenbach, the leading city councillor Johann Matthias Stock[47] designated the following annual revenues to the school: twelve cords of wood; all funds from marriage and baptism licenses; a portion of the registration fees for apprenticeship papers; all taxes arising from dance and game concessions; half of the ten taler penalties for fornicators (if they preferred not to spend two weeks in jail); two taler payments from all Jews who were allowed to set up businesses in Offenbach; in addition, eighteen fl. annual payments by Jewish synagogues in Offenbach for permission to hold synagogue worship.[48] Stock joined Bröske as the Count's closest counselors and confidants. Stock and Bröske were "of one mind and heart" in their vision and work for the good of the community.[49]

With this support in place, the school was opened in May 1691, shortly after Bröske's return from England. It was a modest enterprise, accommodated in what had been Bröske's house on Schloßstraße 56,

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[45] Ibid., pp. 15f.

[46] P. Heber, *Geschichte der Stadt Offenbach* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Siegmund Schmerber, 1838), pp. 176f; Sommerlad, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Schulwesens zu Offenbach*, p. 19 and Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule*, p. 17.

[47] "der aus Hanau stammende Johann Matthias Stock…war 1677 Sekretär in Offenbach geworden und wuchs schon unter Graf Johann Ludwig in eine Vertrauensstellung hinein. Während der gesamten Regierungszeit Johann Philipps stand er als Rat an der Spitze der Regierung und des Behördenapparates der Grafschaft. Seine Rolle kann daher gar nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden, denn Stock war im Hintergrund an allen wesentlichen Entscheidungen des Grafen beteiligt…" See Decker, "Graf Johann Philipp," pp. 106f.

[48] Heber, *Geschichte der Stadt Offenbach*, pp. 176f and Sommerlad, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Schulwesens zu Offenbach*, p. 19. See also Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule*, pp. 12–14.

[49] Decker, "Graf Johann Philipp," p. 107. "…geistesverwandte Männer, die eine gemeinsame politische Linie für das kleine Staatswesen vertraten."

refurbished for purposes of instruction.[50] On the 26th of May, 1691 Count Johann Philipp appointed Heinrich Kuhaupt, a theologian from Ehringen in Niederhessen, as the first school Rector. He was granted an annual salary of 150 fl., as well as free lodging in the school house and the right to gather fire wood in the Count's forests. The school was established as a "free school," meaning that the Rector would not collect payment from students. However, honoraria for additional private instruction or tutoring would be allowed.[51] In 1708 the school moved to new premises. A factory on Herrngasse, built by Frenchman Simony de Tournay, was purchased for 800 florins. It was remodelled and named the Latin School.[52]

The Latin school continued to face financial pressures, however. In 1691 only ten pounds Sterling were received from England instead of the thirty that had been promised, and in 1692 only fifteen pounds arrived. To address this situation, in the summer of 1693 Bröske made another trip to England. On the return trip he took seriously ill and was confined to his house for a period of time. He wrote to the Count to apologize for the delay in submitting his report.

> After my return I should have provided a complete account of what I accomplished. However, I came down with a particularly severe illness on the return trip…so that I had to be helped from wagon to wagon, and from ship to ship…The illness still bothers me, so that as yet I dare not get up and get properly dressed, much less write a proper letter [to you]. Which brings me to the question: might I in some way be able to present my report, which is both necessary and urgent, through someone else in a suitable place? But because there is an important matter concerning the *Schulgeld*, I would respectfully request the opportunity to discuss this with you. As I would not think of coming into the castle in my nightgown [*Schlaffrock*], which serves me best in my illness, I would humbly suggest the Church as the place where this discussion could take place. I put all this to the disposal of my honourable Lord, your servant Conrad Bröske. Offenbach, 18th of July 1693.[53]

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[50] Since the school had taken over the Court Preacher's house, a new residence was built for Bröske at number 41 Herrnstraße.

[51] Heber, *Geschichte der Stadt Offenbach*, p. 177, Sommerlad, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Schulwesens zu Offenbach*, pp. 20f. and Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule*, p. 16.

[52] Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule*, pp. 24f. See also Heber, *Geschichte der Stadt Offenbach*, p. 177 and Sommerlad, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Schulwesens zu Offenbach*, pp. 20f.

[53] Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule*, p. 17. "Nachdem ich durch Gottes Gnade wieder zurück kommen, wäre es meine schuldigkeit, eine völlige relation

Bröske was eventually able to report to Johann Philipp that his second trip had been successful. Shortly after his return a total of forty-five pounds sterling were received for the school, with fifteen pounds as back payment.[54]

Under Kuhaupt's rectorship the school thrived. By 1696 several pupils had gone on to attend university. Bröske personally gave instruction in philosophy to prepare pupils for university studies.[55] The Latin school's reputation was enhanced thanks to the lectures that Bröske offered to more advanced pupils.[56] Looking back in 1710, Bröske could reflect with some pride on the marked improvement in Offenbach's schools: "…through my efforts and care they have been so greatly improved from [the days of having just] one bad German schoolmaster; they now have a Rector and two additional teachers, and the young people graduate with honour and go on to public [university] lectures."[57]

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meiner Verrichtungen abzustatten. Weilen ich aber eine Ungemeine beschwerliche Krankheit auf der rückreise, welche deßwegen auch länger gedauert außgestanden, so daß ich mich von wagen zu wagen, auch von schiff zu schiff habe müßen leiten und führen laßen, da ich in der frembde krank zu liegen nicht resolviren konte, und diese krankheit mir noch hart anhanget, daß ich mich recht anzukleiden und aufzustehen nicht getraue, die feder viel weniger recht brauchen kann, alß kompt es auf die frage an, wie ich etwa durch jemand anderß meine relation, die nötig ist und große eyle hat, an gebührenden örtern könne vortragen laßen? Weilen auch über dies wegen unserer schulgelder etwas nötiges zu erinnern vorfället, alß verlange ich höflich eine mündliche Unterredung. Im schlafrocke, der mir gegen diesen sturm am dienlichsten, darf ich ins schloß nicht kommen, möchte alßo unmaßgeblich die Kirche wol der dritte ort seyn, wo diese Unterredung vorzunehmen. Alles in Meiner Hochgeehrten Herrn disposition stellende bin ich Meine sonderß Hochgeehrte Herrn ergebenster Diener C. Brösske. Offenbach den 18. 7ter 1693."

[54] Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule*, p. 17.

[55] Sommerlad, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Schulwesens zu Offenbach*, p. 22. See also Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 134. "Die philosophische Kandidatenausbildung, die auf das akademische Studium vorbereitete, führte er selbst durch."

[56] Heber, *Geschichte der Stadt Offenbach*, p. 177. "Brößke gründete durch seine wissenschaftlichen Vorlesungen, die er den Schülern von reiferem Alter hielt, den Ruf der Schule…"

[57] Conrad Bröske, "Brief, 10te April, 1710," Selbstbiographie für ein Büch über die Gelehrten in Hessen. Ms Hass 103, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel. "…welche Schule durch seine Mühe und Sorge von einem schlechten teutschen Schulmeister so weit erhöht, daß sie nunmehr einen Rektoren und noch zwei andere Praeceptores hat und die Jugend cum Laude ad lectiones publicas promovieret…"

Bröske as Overseer and Censor of his Count's Printing Press

It was common in the early modern period for court preachers to wear many hats; they regularly assumed the responsibilities of first preacher and superintendent, and exercised the duties of censor in overseeing the printing and distribution of books and pamphlets under their prince's oversight.[58] The censorship practices of territorial lords were often determined by their own political and theological interests. In this situation, the ability of the Imperial power to enforce censorship in non-Habsburg territories was quite limited.

Under Bröske's oversight as censor, Offenbach became the publishing capital of the growing Philadelphian movement within Germany. This millennialist group was officially established in London, England in 1694 by members of various Jakob Böhme study circles, under the leadership of Jane Leade. Leade's writings began to appear in German translation in Amsterdam in 1694. In a short time there were over 100 Philadelphian adherents within Germany. They were marked by their eschatological expectation of the soon-arrival of the Philadelphian church age of unity and peace (Revelation 3:7–13).[59]

Pietist Philadelphian book production took place mainly in remote, tiny principalities within the German empire. The key centres producing heterodox literature in Germany were Offenbach, Idstein, Berleburg, and Büdingen. Three of these towns were Reformed; Idstein was Lutheran. In all four cases the religious, political and economic conditions were favourable to independent-minded publishing.[60] All four were residence cities where the territorial Prince had established his court. In all four the office of court preacher and responsibility for church administration lay in the hands of Pietists.[61] In Offenbach in the 1690s one observes continuous publication of heterodox and separatist literature, on mystical, spiritualist, chiliastic and speculative eschatological themes, at a time when this was illegal in other German states.[62]

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[58] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 113, 116. Final responsibility for censorship lay with the territorial lord.

[59] On the Philadelphian movement see Donald Durnbaugh, "Philadelphia-Bewegung," *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), col. 1179 and Schrader, *Literatur-produktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 63–73, 374–385.

[60] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 17.

[61] Ibid., p. 165.

[62] Ibid., p. 140. "Die geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung der wirtschaftlich so unbedeutenden, mit fragwürdigen Mitteln um ihre Existenz kämpfenden Lauynoyschen

> All this was… in the 1690s, a time when everywhere in Protestant Germany there was constant and intense conflict over the issue of Pietism… But most astounding was that here [in Offenbach] writings which in such controversies normally would have appeared anonymously, here for the most part were brought to the market with the imprint of the territorial court printer. Indeed, a rugged separatist such as Heinrich Horch, recently dismissed from office, could here publish a tract with the author's name, publisher and place of publication. Horch accused his Orthodox opponent of illegal intrigue, for the latter had published an anonymous pamphlet against him with falsified publication information.[63]

Publishing activity in Offenbach was especially intense in the years 1697 to 1704, precisely when the Philadelphian movement in Offenbach reached "its greatest radiating power."[64]

The Offenbach printer Bonvaventura de Launoy first set up his press in Offenbach in 1685, having come from the great book-printing city of Frankfurt. In March 1686 he was honoured with the title, "Court Book printer to the Count of Ysenburg".[65] De Launoy served as court printer until his death in 1723. Between 1686 and 1723 de Launoy's Offenbach press put out 104 books. A large percentage of these works reflected a Philadelphian, millennialist point of view. Twenty-two of these were authored by Conrad Bröske; six were by Johann Henrich Reitz; five by Johann Christoph Bröske; five by Heinrich Horch; four by Johann Konrad Dippel; two by Johann Wilhelm Petersen; one each by Christian Hoburg, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, Gottfried Arnold, Samuel König, Thomas Beverley, Jane Leade, and Thomas Bromley.[66]

Because official printing work alone would hardly have supported de Launoy's business, Bröske assured de Launoy of additional revenues through exclusive rights to printing and selling the customary song and school books, along with the Ysenburg calendar.[67] The calendars served as a source of traditional wisdom and lore, representing a hybrid of the modern-day news magazine, astrological chart and farmer's almanac.

Presse liegt darin begründet, daß sie die kontinuierliche Publikation heterodoxer und z.T. offen separatistischer Schriften zu einem Zeitpunkt ermöglichte, als das in anderen deutschen Staaten so noch nicht möglich war."

[63] Ibid., p. 131.

[64] Ibid., pp. 158f.

[65] An official document dated in Birstein the 19th of March, 1686, honoured de Launoy with the title, "Court Book printer to the Count of Ysenburg" ("Hochgräflich-Isenburgischer Hofbuchdrucker").

[66] See Schrader, "Titelliste der Offenbacher Drucke (1686–1723)," *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 141–158.

[67] Ibid., p. 135.

They came in several varieties. The Ysenburg Calendar published in Offenbach in 1689 presented itself as "A Calendar of general Civic and Historical Curiosities as well as useful for taking medications and book-keeping for the year of Christ 1689." It also called itself "Allmanach und Schreib-Calender," or Almanac and daytimer. The first page listed a series of important events relative to the year 1689: it had been 5,638 years since the creation of the world; 3,982 years since the flood; 1,291 years since the founding of the city of Frankfurt; 755 years since the time when Emperor Heinrich, called the bird-catcher, delivered the whole German Empire from the unbelievers, accompanied by Count Johann of Ysenburg; 107 years since the new Gregorian calendar came into use; and 34 years since the birth of Count Johann Philipp of Ysenburg and Büdingen, now resident in Offenbach.[68]

Another calendar published in Offenbach in 1711 had a wider range of information: "The Limping- and Stumbling- yet quickly Flying- and Running Messenger. That is, the Newly Improved General Civic and Historical, War and Triumph Calendar for the Year after the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1711." Besides presenting the stages of the moon and the customary astrological readings for each month, it also gave advice such as: when to plant a crop; when to be lucky; when to cut the hair; when to fell trees; when to take medications; and required days for fasting. Astrological calculations predicted the likelihood of peace and prosperity in the coming year. The "Aderlaß Tafel" provided a table of recommended days for opening the veins, and days when bleeding would cause sickness and be injurious to health. The calendar provided useful information for businessmen and travelers, including the dates and locations of all the main fairs and markets in the Wetterau region that were regularly visited by merchants and business people. It provided a schedule of days in the week when the postal wagon left Frankfurt for various cities, and the days when it arrived back in Frankfurt from those cities. It listed dates and times when the empire's post "leaves for the Elector's residence city of Mainz."[69]

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[68] *Alter und Neuer Noch-Gr. Ysenburgischer Stamms. Auch allgemeiner Staats- und historischer Curiositäten Wie auch Artzney- und Schreib-Calender Auff das Jahr Christi M DC LXXXIX* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1689). The months of the year are listed in the calendar as follows: Jenner (name of the ancient Roman god of the new year), Hornung (summit), Märtz, Aprill, May, Brachmonat (fallow month), Heumonat (hay month), Augustmonat, Herbstmonat, Weinmonat, Wintermonat, Christmonat.

[69] *Der Hinckend- und Stolpernd- doch eilfertig fliegend- und lauffende Bott. Das ist: Neu-Verbesserter Allgemeiner Staats- Geschichts- Kriegs- und Siegs-Calender, Auff das Jahr nach der Geburt unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, 1711* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1711).

Of Huguenot extraction, de Launoy was a colourful figure. It is not clear whether he came to Offenbach as a result of persecution or simply joined the Philadelphian circle after his arrival. During the 1690s he printed almost exclusively books by radical Pietist groups and sought to sell them, at his own cost, outside of the county. His business competitors accused him of "Quakerish, enthusiastic Pietist radicalism in the highest degree."[70] Besides the accusation of publishing illegal, heretical material, they also raised the matter of his improper business practices. They charged de Launoy with trying to break into the Frankfurt market "by charging ruinously low prices, and benefiting from the protection of Pietist-minded people in high places." He would put his own name and publishing house on the title-page of books such as Reitz's *Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen*, when in fact only a small portion of these books was actually printed in Offenbach.[71] Competitors portrayed the Offenbach printing house as "an inefficient hick press" whose owner "not only brought out all kinds of senseless, obscure and illegal works, but also used aggressive business methods to break into the privileged and protected market of his out-of-town colleagues."[72]

The precondition for this publishing activity was the sympathetic Offenbach Court Preacher Conrad Bröske. The freedom Bröske enjoyed to promote literature on Philadelphian-millennialist themes can be attributed to the favourable political and economic conditions in the region, a tolerant Count, and Bröske's close relations with the Count.

Bröske as a Highly-Esteemed Adviser and Confidant to the Count

Bröske and Count Johann Philipp enjoyed a close and trusting relationship. In 1692 the Count agreed to give the hand of his own half sister, Luise, to Bröske in marriage.[73] Bröske's marriage with Luise was not as extraordinary as might at first appear. Luise's mother, Marie

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[70] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 135, 138. "Quakerischen, Enthusiastischen und Pietistischen Schwermerey, im höchsten Grad…"

[71] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 136–138. Schrader writes that "careful examination of the book [Reitz's *Historie*] reveals the use of differing kinds of paper, vignettes, and even the re-beginning of pagination part way through the book, so that in fact only a small part of such books was actually printed in Offenbach."

[72] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 136–138. "eine leistungsschwachen Winkelpresse…"

[73] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 134.

Juliane Bilgen, was the daughter of a Berleburg chancellery minister with Burger standing. She had served as chamber maid to the second wife of Count Johann Ludwig (1622–1685), Johann Philipp's father. Marie Juliane became the third wife of Johann Ludwig in what was for the Count a *Neigungsehe*, a marriage below his station. Luise was one of six children that the marriage produced, all of whom bore the title, "von Eisenberg."[74] Count Johann Philipp and his father Count Johann Ludwig clearly held a more relaxed view of class relations, given their slighting of social custom in matters of marriage. Through his marriage to Luise Bröske became a part of the family circle of the Count.[75]

Bröske and Luise had two daughters, born in 1693 and 1696. Both married the young second preachers serving in the Reformed church in Offenbach. Daughter Johanna Wilhelmine Charlotte Juliane Bröske (1693–1767) married Anton Lammersdorf (1680–1731) on May 13, 1710 in Offenbach. Lammersdorf served as Second Preacher to Conrad Bröske in Offenbach from 1706–1714. Daughter Eleonore Luise Bröske (1696–) married Johann Adam Müller (1694–1726) on January 21, 1719. Müller served as Second Preacher in Offenbach from 1717–1720. Eleonore had two children, Philipp Ludwig (b. 1721) and Johann Christoph (b. 1723).[76]

Bröske's close relations with the Count are illustrated in a letter Bröske wrote to him in 1705:

> As long as by God's providence I have been in this land, from the beginning until now, to my great comfort and pleasure I have found Your worship to be well-disposed towards me with great favour. Not only was Your Worship the first who, informing my blessed father, recommended me and gave me the gracious opportunity to come to Offenbach and to preach, but right up to the present time you…seek to persuade me for all sorts of reasons not to move from here…[77]

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[74] Decker, "Graf Johann Philipp," pp. 89, 124f.

[75] Decker surmises that a portrait of a pastor from this time period, contained in the Ysenburg family collection, may well be a picture of Conrad Bröske. Ibid., p. 124 n. 166.

[76] Max Aschkewitz, ed., *Pfarrergeschichte des Sprengels Hanau ("Hanauer Union") bis 1968, Erster Teil* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1984), pp. 212f, and Lorenz Kohlenbusch, *Pfarrerbuch der evangelischen unierten Kirchengemeinschaft ("Hanauer Union") im Gebiet der Landeskirche in Hessen-Kassel* (Darmstadt: Verlag L.C. Wittich, 1938), pp. 108f.

[77] Bröske "Brief, 24 February, 1705," Graf archiv Birstein Schloß: Offenbach N 11621, 1704–1795. "So lange ich durch Gottes fürsehung in diesen Landen bin, habe ich vom anfang biß hieher Ew. Hochgräffl Gnad zu meinem sonderbahren Trost und Vergnügen dermaßen mit Gnaden gegen mich gewogen befunden, daß Ew. Hochgräffl Gnaden nicht nur die Ersten seynd, welche meiner bey dero Hochgebohrnen Herrn

Twenty years after Bröske first took up his position there obviously continued to be a positive working relationship between Lord and Pastor.

Further evidence of Bröske's favour with the Count can be seen in the Count's provision for Bröske's family to have perpetual possession of land and privileges in the county. The extent of Bröske's goods and land can be estimated from a document from 1704 with the heading: "a list of Court Preacher Conrad Bröske's property in Ysenburg."[78] It lists thirty-three Morgen of arable land and twenty-five Morgen of meadow land that Bröske had received from Johann Philipp.[79] In all, fifty-eight Morgen of land were in Bröske's possession, amounting to about forty acres.[80] This provision of land and privileges is confirmed in a document from the hand of Count Johann Philipp:

> We, Johann Philipp Count of Ysenburg and Büdingen, testify and hereby attest for myself and my heirs in the County of Ysenburg, that . . . in recognition of our Court Preacher, our beloved and honourable Conrad Bröske . . . and of his office, which he has managed so well among us . . . with care and untiring effort, zeal, profit and devotion till now, and God willing will do so in future . . . that he may have, possess and enjoy the below noted cultivated land and meadows within this region . . . most assuredly from now and for perpetuity, . . . and be in all respects free and

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Vattern Hochseeligsten kundmachend, zum ersten im besten gedacht, und mich ohne mein Vorwissen hieher recommandiret, mir auch dem ersten Gnädigsten Befehl gegeben haben, einmahl nach Offenbach zu gehen, Und mich daselbt mit Predigen hören zu lassen; sondern auch noch biß auff die gegenwärtige Zeit mit unter denen seynd, welche . . . mich durch allerhand wichtige Gründe bewegen, daß ich auch vor dieses Mahl noch nicht von hier abbauen kann."

[78] The document is dated the 10th of December, 1704. Bröske prepared it shortly after receiving a call to serve as second preacher at the Reformed Church in Elberfeld, near Düsseldorf.

[79] Ms., Graf archiv Birstein Schloß: Offenbach N 11621, 1704–1795. For sake of comparison, Johann Philipp granted the members of the colony of Waldensians who settled in Neu-Kelsterbach in Offenbach 10 Morgen Land (auf dem Bugrain) per family; French refugees who had to survive off the land received 20 Morgen of arable land and 5 Morgen of wooded land (Wiese) per family; and in 1697 he granted the newly settled Hofbaumeister, court builder, Andreas Löber, besides his residence, three Morgen of wooded land (Wiese) adjacent to a lake, the "Schönen See" in the Sprendlinger forest. See Vogt, *Die Ansiedlungen der französischen Glaubensflüchtlinge*, pp. 280, 287f.

[80] According to Langenscheidt, one Morgen represents a "measure of land varying from 0.6 to 0.9 acres." Dr. Otto Springer, her., *Langenscheidts Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch der Englischen und Detuschen Sprache, Teil II Deutsch-Englisch, 2. Band, 6. Auflage* (Berlin: Langenscheidt, 1992), p. 1100. According to Grimm: 1) "Ein Morgen sei so viel, als ein mann an einem morgen bearbeiten könne . . . Der Pflüger theilt nach seinen morgenwerken die erdfläche in festbegränzte morgen." 2) "ein morgen lands ist in der mark 10 ruthen breit, 30 ruthen lang." *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, Bd. 6*, Bearb. von Dr. Moriz Heyne (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1885), col. 2563.

> exempt from me and my heirs . . . and from all customary privileges, terms and ordinances . . . To confirm this we have signed this letter in our own hand, and attached below our seal as Count.[81]

Two months later Bröske acknowledged this generous provision from the Count:

> I am assured by others that Your gracious Lordship would be pleased should I remain here [in Offenbach] . . . As well, your Grace has consented, with graciously-provided clarification, to confirm and empower with his own signature and imprinted Count's seal the freedom of my few properties given to me by my glorious Lord at his pleasure some years ago and now also confirmed in writing. A few days ago he provided for me a *Freyheitsbrieff* for my own and my family's use . . . Although in my own person no proper reciprocation can be offered, much less given, nevertheless I dare to offer for your person and whole house my continued and zealous prayers to God, the true recompense, for both your bodily and your spiritual well-being.[82]

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[81] The document is from the hand of Count Johann Philipp and dated the 30th of December, 1704, Graf archiv Birstein Schloß: Offenbach N 11621, 1704–1795. "Wir Johann Philipp Graff zu Ysenburg und Büdingen, Uhrkunden und bekennen hiermit für Uns, Unsere Erben und Nachkommen an der Graffschaft Yßenburg, daß Wir Unserm Hofprediger und Lieben getreuen, Ehre Conrad Brüßken, Louysen, gebohrner von Eysenberg, dessen Ehelicher Hausfrauen, und Ihren Leibs-descendenten Mann und weiblichen Geschlechts, in Ansehung seines Ambts, das er so wohl bey unsers in Gott ruhenden Herrn Vatters, dann auch unserer Regierung mit rühmlicher treu und sorgfalt, auch unverdrossenem grosem Fleiß, Eiffer, nutzen und erbauung, biß hieher verwaltet, und künfftighin, ob Gott will! also verwalten kan und will, die besondere gnad gethan, und diejenige äcker und wiesen in hießiger Terminey, welche er auff seinen eigenen Kosten von neuem gerottet und umbgemacht . . . welche äcker, wiesen, und Hoffraith, außer denen Pföchten, Zehenden, und respective Ziensen, Von allen personal- und real-oneribus frey seynd, nunmehr auch von ersterwehnter gewöhnlicher beschwehrung befreyet haben . . . von nun an und zu ewigen Tagen . . . Wir verzeihen und begeben uns auch aller Exemptionen, Privilegien, Pacten, Statuten, Satz- und Ordnungen, gewonheit und gebräuchen, die sonsten insgemein oder bey Unserm Gräfflichen Hauß insbesonder, bereits eingeführet seyn, oder hiernechst eingeführet und zu umbstossung oder wiederruffung dieser Unserer freywilligen concession allegiret und angezogen werden mögten . . . Dessen zu uhrkund, haben Wir dießen brieff eigenhändig unterschrieben, und unser angebohrnes Gräffliches Insiegele darunter drucken laßen."

[82] Bröske "Brief, 24th of February, 1705," Graf archiv Birstein Schloß: Offenbach N 11621, 1704–1795. "So bin ich doch durch andere versichert worden, daß es Ew. Hochgräfl. Gnad. wol gerne sehen möchten, wann ich hier bleiben könnte: worauß ich dann an meinem unterthänigsten Orte schliessen muß, daß Ew. Hochgräfl. Gnad., die hier gebrauchte und beigebrachte argumenta vor guth halten, Und zu dem ende auch die, von meines Gnädigsten Herrn Hochgräfl. Gnaden, nun einige Jahre her, mir bereits in genuß-gegebene, und nunmehr auch schrifftlich bestätigte Freyheit meiner wenigen Güter, mit dero Gnädigst-beygefügten erklärung, eigener Hand-Unterschrifft und beygedrückten Hochgräfl. Siegel in allem Gnaden haben mit bestätigen und bekräfftigen wollen; Allermaßen mir ein solcher Freyheitsbrieff vor wenig Tagen eingehändiget

The Count's actions pleased Bröske greatly, giving him clear title to the land and the ability to pass on his estate to his children.

Conclusion

In his various roles as adviser and confidant to the Count, superintendent and inspector of Schools for the Landeskirche and censor of the Count's printing press, Bröske served as influential *Berater* or intimate counselor to the Count, not merely a distant *Mahner* or moral conscience in the background. Bröske and the Count enjoyed a close personal relationship of esteem and trust. Along with city councilor Johann Matthias Stock, Bröske was the Count's closest confidant in advancing the good of the region's churches, schools and general well-being. At a time when fewer and fewer court preachers enjoyed such closeness to their prince, Bröske continued to wield significant political and social influence in the court of Johann Philipp II.[83] Bröske could look back on his work in Ysenburg-Offenbach with a sense of accomplishment: "Despite various calls to other places… [I] have not forsaken the good establishments undertaken in the churches and schools in Offenbach, but preferred to help with their advancement rather than take up another calling."[84]

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und zu meinem und der meinigen Gebrauch übergeben worden ist. Und diese auff neue mir und den meinigen erwiesene hohe Gnade ist es, die mich so frey machet, gegenwärtige Ew. Hochgräfl. Gnad in aller demüth und unterthänigkeit überreichen zu lassen, damit eine Probe meines Unterthänigst-danckbarsten gemüth, wie vor alle andere, also auch ins besondere vor die mir hierinnen mit-getheilete Hohe Huld und Gnade, demütigst abzulegen, nebst der Unterthänigsten Versicherung, daß, obgleich durch meine Person keine Vergeltung kann angebothen, vielweniger gegeben werden, dennoch Ew. Hochgräffl. Gnaden, vor dero eigenem Person und gantzen Hochgräffl. Hauses so wol leibl. als geistl Wolfarth, einen beständigen und eifferigem Bether zu Gott, dem rechten Vergelter, haben werden an dem, der sichs vor eine Hohe Gnade sätzet, sich nennen zu dürfen."

[83] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 133f. Schrader speaks of Bröske's "significant influence in the court and position of unlimited power in directing the region's churches and schools." It was Bröske's efforts that "essentially produced the cultural establishment of the region." The evidence substantiates this assertion.

[84] Conrad Bröske, "Brief, 10te April, 1710," Ms Hass 103, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel. "Und ohn angesehen ihn seit der Zeit verschiedene vocationes an andere Örter zugemuthet, er auch würcklich nach Elberfeld ins Herzogthumb Bergen und nach Frankfurt am Mayn zum Predigt Amt berufen worden so hat er doch die angefangene guten Ordnungen in Kirchen und Schulen zu Offenbach… bisher noch nicht verlassen, sondern bis dato lieber fortsetzen helffen als einen anderen Beruf annehmen wollen."

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GOSPEL AND FUNERAL SERMONS OF CONRAD BRÖSKE: A PICTURE OF INNOVATION AND CONFORMITY IN PIETIST PREACHING

The preparation and delivery of sermons represented a heavy and relentless task for Conrad Bröske. He preached on Sundays and feast-days as well as at confirmations, weddings and funerals for various members of the Ysenburg court and the wider community.[1] There was also the weekly exposition of the *Heidelberg Catechism*. Bröske's sermons highlight the pastoral side of the man and reveal the various ways that he adapted his pastoral practice to the settings of the Ysenburg court and the Reformed parish for which he was responsible. They offer insight into the role and social experience of a Pietist court preacher at the turn of the eighteenth century and the pastoral strategy and social attitudes that he brought to his position.[2]

The sources for investigating Bröske's preaching include the sermon he preached in 1707 at the funeral for the Gräfin Charlotte Amalie[3] and the *Betrachtungen* [Reflections, Meditations], a published collection of some sixty of Bröske's sermons on a year's Gospel and feast day texts.[4] It was common practice by this time for Protestant preachers

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[1] As noted in chapter three, the total number of households under the rule of Count Johann Philipp in 1698 was about 730 and the total population in the county around 2,500 inhabitants.

[2] Recent scholarship has discovered in the early modern sermon a valuable source for understanding pastoral attitudes regarding marriage, family life and gender relations, and for discerning popular reception of Protestant values and beliefs. See Eileen T. Dugan, "The Funeral Sermon as a Key to Familial Values in Early Modern Nördllingen," *Sixteenth Century Journal* XX, No. 4 (1989), pp. 631, 633. Dugan examines Nördlingen funeral sermons from 1589 to 1712.

[3] Conrad Bröske, *Der Kinder Gottes Seligster Schlaff…aus Veranlassung des im Jahr Christi 1707 zwischen dem 8ten und 9ten Tag Augusti Nachts um 12. Uhre so unvermutheten als höchst-seligen Einschlaffens und Absterbens der weyland Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen Frauen Charlotten Amalien…mundlich vorgetragen endlich zum Druck herausgegeben durch Conrad Brösken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Bonaventura de Launoy, Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Buchdruckern, 1708). He preached at the funeral of the Gräfin Charlotte Amalie (1653–1707) at midnight on August 8, 1707.

[4] Konrad Brößke, *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen der so genannten Sonn- und Fest-Täglichen Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Johann Maximilian

to publish sermon collections. The sermon became "a literary form as well as a rhetorical one, [carried] by means of the printing press well beyond the sanctuary to an increasingly literate lay audience."[5] The *Betrachtungen* were Bröske's last publication before he died. He stated his intention to publish further series of sermons "if the Lord grants me life and gives me the strength."[6] Bröske saw these sermons as his final legacy to both people and preachers in his territory. He hoped they would serve as a model for his pastoral colleagues and their own Gospel preaching.[7] Luther had intended his *Church Postils* in 1522 to serve an exemplary function;[8] Johann Benedict Carpzov the Younger (1639–1699) had intended the same for his *Artis concionatoriae tyrocinium* in 1698.

Three features of Bröske's work as court preacher become evident in the sermons: his consistent effort to make old liturgical forms attractive; his use of varied preaching methods aimed at application; and his rejection of separatism in favour of working within the parish system. Bröske's funeral sermon reveals his special relationship with Count Johann Philipp and the Countess Charlotte Amalie.

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Protestant Preaching

Bröske's preaching was stamped by the century and a half old Protestant preaching tradition. Among Reformation churches preaching was recognized as the key means of grace and salvation. The Augsburg

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von Sand, 1716). The present author obtained a photocopy of these sermons through the kindness of the late Pfarrer Albert Kratz of Offenbach, who found them in the Library of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Church in Hesse and Nassau in Herborn.

[5] See Susan Karant-Nunn, "Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Social Ideology in the Sermons of Johannes Mathesius," *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), p. 122.

[6] Brößke, "Vorrede," *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen*, p. 6. Bröske's *Betrachtungen* were published in 1710 and again in 1716, about three years after his death.

[7] Ibid., p. 5. In Offenbach itself there were at least three churches. There were probably a couple of rural parishes as well in the Count's territory. See Georg Dehio, Ernst Gall, ed., *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler. Südliches Hessen* (München/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1950), pp. 52f.

[8] Luther observed: "The postil is the very best book which I ever wrote." Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Introduction to volume 52," in Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed., *Luther's Works, Vol. 52: Sermons* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), pp. ix–xii.

Conrad Bröskens/
Hoch-Gräflich-Ysenburgischen Hof-Predigers
zu Offenbach am Mayn/
Natur-Schrifft-
und
Geschichtmässige
Betrachtungen
der so genannten
Sonn- und Fest-Täglichen
Evangelien,
durchs gantze Jahr.
Darinnen
Erstlich ein jedes Evangelium gantz entworffen und kurtz erkläret; Zweytens/ die Lehr-Wahrheiten daraus in einer Reihe angezeiget; und Drittens/ der gantze Inhalt eines jeden Evangelii auff eine geheime und Sinnbildliche Weise/ bald auff die Kirche/ bald auff die Welt insgemein/ bald auff diese oder jene Begebenheit/ dann auch den Menschen ins besondere/ so wohl nach dem äusserlichen als innerlichen Zustande/ zugeeignet wird.
Franckfurt am Mayn/
Verlegts Johann Maximilian von Sand.
M DCC XVI.

Fig. 2. Title page of Bröske's collection of Gospel sermons: *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen* (1716).

Confession, the Helvetic Confession, and the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England all upheld gospel preaching as the mark of the true church.[9] The Lutheran pastor thought of himself first of all as a preacher who communicated religious knowledge. The church existed essentially as a community marked by the teaching and hearing of God's word—*ecclesia docens* and *ecclesia audiens*, as Melanchthon put it.[10] This conviction reflected Martin Luther's own emphasis: "The greatest and foremost part of worship is the preaching and teaching of God's Word."[11] After 1511, Luther generally preached several times per week. In the Preface to the *German Mass* Luther described a week's services in Wittenberg:

> On Sundays and feast days we retain the customary Epistle and Gospel readings, and have three sermons. At the early service, at five or six in the morning, we sing a few Psalms as at Matins. After this comes a sermon on the Epistle . . . At Mass, at eight or nine o'clock, there is a sermon on the Gospel appointed for that time of year. At the afternoon vespers service the sermon is from the Old Testament, continuing chapter by chapter.
>
> Early on Monday and Tuesday mornings there is a German reading selected from the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Our Father, from the sacraments of Baptism and Supper, so that these two days are devoted to the Catechism and to proper understanding of it. Early on Wednesday the reading and sermon are from the Gospel of Matthew because it contains Jesus' sermon on the mount and encourages hearers to love and good works. The Gospel of John teaches the faith in a powerful way, and also has its own day, Saturday in the afternoon at vespers. And so these two Gospels are in constant use. On early Thursday and Friday mornings there are weekly readings from the Epistles or other portions of the New Testament.[12]

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[9] Ian Green, "Teaching the Reformation: The Clergy as Preachers, Catechists, Authors and Teachers," in C. Scott Dixon and Luise Schorn-Schütte, eds., *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 157.

[10] Udo Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995), p. 74. See also Hans-Christoph Rublack, "Success and Failure of the Reformation: Popular 'Apologies' from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), p. 161. "[Preaching] was the core of his understanding of his profession." Susan Karant-Nunn writes: "Historians universally acknowledge the centrality of the sermon in early Lutheran, and generally in early Protestant, worship services. Martin Luther called the sermon 'the purest offering' of a clergyman." See Karant-Nunn, "Kinder, Küche, Kirche", p. 121.

[11] Martin Luther, "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts, 1526," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesammtausgabe, Bd. 19* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1897), p. 78. "Weyl alles Gottis diensts das grössist und furnempst stuck ist Gottis wort predigen und leren, halten wyrs mit dem predigen und lesen also."

[12] Luther, "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts, 1526," p. 79.

Thanks to this busy preaching schedule, we possess over two thousand of Luther's sermons.[13]

Luther expected the preacher to put his best energies, thought and rhetorical skill into sermon preparation and delivery. Among Luther's rules for effective preaching, many would argue, then and now, that his best rule was the sixth: the preacher "must know when to stop."[14] The Wittenberg preacher Balthasar Meisner (1587–1626) gave this principle classic form:

> Conclude your sermon so it is brief, appealing and good,
> Long sermons just make people annoyed.
> You say it takes skill to preach well?
> It is also a skill to know when to stop.
> The preacher who lacks this key ability,
> Edifies no one.[15]

Luther's other rules included the following: "First of all, a good preacher must be able to teach correctly and in an orderly manner. Second, he must have a good head. Third, he must be able to speak well. Fourth, he should have a good voice, and, fifth, a good memory… Seventh, he must know his stuff and keep at it. Eighth, he must be willing to risk body and soul, property and honour. Ninth, he must let everyone vex and ridicule him."[16]

These qualities of good preaching proved difficult to sustain. Udo Sträter has pointed to a "preaching crisis" in seventeenth century Lutheranism, marked by doubt over the effectiveness of the sermon in

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[13] Albrecht Beutel, "Predigt," in Hans Dieter Betz, et al., *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Bd. 6* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), col. 1587. Udo Sträter notes that many seventeenth century pastors preached several thousand sermons in their lifetime. Many theologians published numerous thick volumes of their sermons. Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, p. 74 n. 4.

[14] Wilhelm Pauck, "The Ministry in the Time of the Continental Reformation," in H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, ed., *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 134.

[15] See Albrecht Beutel, "Aphoristische Homiletik: Johann Benedikt Carpzovs 'Hodegeticum' (1652), ein Klassiker der orthodoxen Predigtlehre," in Christian Albrecht und Martin Weeber, ed., *Klassiker der protestantischen Predigtlehre* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), p. 43.

> Deine Predigt schleuß kurtz, rund und gut,
> Lang Predigt hört man mit Unmuht.
> Ists eine Kunst wol predigen können?
> So ists auch eine das Ende finden.
> Wer den Schlüssel nicht finden kan,
> Der macht verdrossen jederman.

[16] Pauck, "Ministry in the Time of the Continental Reformation," p. 134.

influencing the heart and behaviour of hearers. There were growing complaints that sermons so rarely bore fruit in conversions and godly living.[17] The 1646 *Briegische Bedencken*, a widely read critique of Protestant preaching, attributed its ineffectiveness to eight factors. First, there was the godless and corrupt heart of the hearer; second, the sermons were so long that by the end hearers had forgotten the points made at the beginning; third, there was no opportunity for the congregation to ask questions; fourth, there was simply too much information, leaving the hearers confused; fifth, the manner of presentation was overly academic, making the sermon inaccessible to the average listener; sixth, there was the inattentiveness of the listener, who was too preoccupied with the business of everyday life; seventh, some listeners were simply lacking in intelligence; and eighth, the sermon lacked adequate repetition, the key to effective teaching and learning. The *Briegische Bedencken* called on pastors to recognize that their office demanded more than public preaching; there was need for visitation in homes, and for individual discussion, admonition and warning. Even before the age of Pietism, various orthodox Lutheran reform circles were calling for private devotion, reading and meditation.[18]

The seventeenth century was also marked by a huge demand for homiletical productions. "Churchmen in no other era have given the technical problems of preaching such intensive attention as did the Lutherans in [the seventeenth] century, the era of hundreds of postils and innumerable methods."[19] In such an age, Johann Benedict Carpzov the Younger (1639–1699), an orthodox Lutheran Professor of Theology in Leipzig, was a phenomenon. In 1698 he published his *Artis concionatoriae tyrocinium*, the full title reading: "An Exhibit of the various Methods of Preaching together with two Expositions on the Pericopes for the entire year for inexperienced preachers." In another work, *Theologia Exegetica*, he elaborated "twelve rules of exegetical method," concluding with the need to relate the text to "the confessional writings, dogmatic and ethical teaching and the work of other [orthodox] interpreters."[20] Carpzov also published a new 1675 edition of his father's classic work on preaching, the *Hodegeticum* (1652).

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[17] Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, pp. 74f, 78.
[18] Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, pp. 79, 145.
[19] Yngve Brilioth, *A Brief History of Preaching* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), p. 131.
[20] Brilioth, *A Brief History of Preaching*, p. 134.

Recent scholarship has tended to set orthodox Lutheran preaching in a more positive light, emphasizing the continuities rather than the differences in comparison with Pietist preaching.[21] Albrecht Beutel, for example, has noted the prominent place that the orthodox gave to application and promotion of practical piety.[22] He exposed a common scholarly caricature of orthodox preaching, showing it to be founded on ignorance, laziness and misinformation. The above-mentioned *Hodegeticum* (1652) of Johann Benedikt Carpzov I (1607–1657) has long been used by scholars to illustrate the logical aridity of orthodox sermons and the "absurd" Leipzig method of biblical interpretation. The work supposedly laid out one hundred different homiletical methods, each one carefully explained and illustrated. The problem, notes Beutel, is that the *Hodegeticum* contains no reference to one hundred methods![23] In fact, Carpzov's preaching method focused on the needs of the hearer and aimed at promoting practical piety.[24]

Preaching continued to occupy a place of priority in German Pietism. Indeed, Pietism has been described as essentially a movement of church reform and renewal by means of preaching.[25] Pietists typically called on clergy to make their preaching more biblical, simple and practical.[26]

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[21] See Jonathan Strom, "Pietism and Revival," in Joris van Eijnatten, ed. *Preacher, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). While Pietism may have challenged certain preaching practices, "historians should not discount the continuity with earlier periods." "Preaching among Pietists such as Spener and Francke remained conventional in many respects." For a traditional, oppositional view of Pietist and Orthodox preaching see Martin Schian, *Orthodoxie und Pietismus im Kampf um die Predigt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des endenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts* (Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1912).

[22] See Beutel, "Aphoristische Homiletik," pp. 34–36, 42. Johannes Wallmann summed up the conflict between Orthodoxy and Pietism as, "Pietas contra Pietismus." Wallmann, "Pietas contra Pietismus. Zum Frömmigkeitsverständnis in der lutherischen Orthodoxie," in Udo Sträter, ed., *Pietas in der Lutherischen Orthodoxie* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft im Drei-Kastanien Verlag, 1998), pp. 6–18.

[23] See Beutel, "Aphoristische Homiletik," pp. 30–32. It was the younger Johann Benedikt who, in the preface to the 1675 edition of his father's work, emphasized the varied methods that preachers can bring to a text, and illustrated the principle by suggesting one hundred different approaches to preaching from Psalm 14:7.

[24] Beutel, "Aphoristische Homiletik," pp. 46f.

[25] Johannes Wallmann noted the view that Spener's Pietism, like English Puritanism, was essentially a movement focused upon preaching. See Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus, 2. Auflage* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986), p. 206.

[26] Albrecht Beutel, "Evangelische Predigt vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," in Gerhard Müller, ed., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Band XXVII* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), p. 303.

In his programmatic statement, the *Pia Desideria*, Spener urged pastors to direct their preaching to the edification of their hearers. He complained that too often sermons became a demonstration of theological learning and flowery rhetoric. While not ready to dismiss homiletic study altogether, Spener thought such study was greatly over-rated. "In sermons I would like to see more evidence of the power of the Spirit than of art and skill in words of human wisdom."[27] Spener emphasized that for Christian renewal to occur, Bible reading and sermons in Sunday worship should be supplemented by private reading of Scripture in homes.[28]

Influences from the Reformed preaching tradition also shaped Bröske's sermons, including the *Betrachtungen*. In the last three decades of the seventeenth century there came to the lower Rhine region a more lively manner of preaching thanks to the influence of Jean de Labadie (1610–1674) and Heinrich Lampe (1646–1690). Also influential was the famed Leiden professor Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669) and his preaching style. "In the second half of the seventeenth century most Reformed preachers became committed Cocceians, and this school [of covenant theology] became the ruling orthodoxy in the eighteenth century"[29] Cocceius had a reputation as a powerful preacher; his followers were likewise known to emphasize practical application to the spiritual needs of their hearers.[30] Cocceius' influence would have been mediated to Bröske during his study visits to Leiden and Ütrecht in 1685. Bröske was influenced by Friedrich Spanheim the younger, Johannes Cocceius' successor in Leiden. In Ütrecht Bröske met Hermann Witsius, an irenic figure who had previously taught in Franeker, a place noted for a group of moderate Cocceians who called for practical application of preaching to people's needs.[31]

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[27] Albrecht Haizmann, "Erbaulichkeit als Kriterium der Predigt bei Philipp Jakob Spener," in Christian Albrecht und Martin Weeber, ed., *Klassiker der protestantischen Predigtlehre* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), pp. 54f., 63.

[28] Martin Brecht, "Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen," *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), p. 307.

[29] Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche, Bd. 2* (Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1852), p. 113.

[30] Edwin Charles Dargan, *A History of Preaching, Vol. II* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1974), pp. 80f.

[31] Ibid., p. 81.

There is some debate as to how influential Coccejus truly was among German Pietists.[32] Gottlob Schrenk and K. Reuter saw a direct line of influence.[33] Schrenk pointed to Coccejus' doctrine of the kingdom, with its emphasis upon hope for the future and its missionary drive as "a deeply influential force in German Pietism."[34] However, a more obvious influence upon Bröske was Coccejus' notion of "friendship with God." Coccejus used the term *amicitia* to describe the covenant relationship between God and humanity. This friendship with God is experienced above all in prayer where God and the believer relate to one another "as a friend enjoys his friend and shares all good things with him."[35] For Coccejus, preaching and worship aim to celebrate and nurture this friendship with Christ.[36] Bröske's funeral sermon for Countess Charlotte Amalie repeatedly emphasized her friendship with Christ and his disciples.[37]

Bröske's Pastoral Strategy and Social Role as Revealed in his Sermons

Bröske's Effort to Make Old Liturgical Forms Attractive

As Court Preacher in Offenbach, Bröske continued the long tradition of using prescribed Gospel texts or pericopes in Sunday worship, something Luther did as well. In many respects Luther's preaching in Wittenberg followed established tradition and church custom. "He retained the sermon in its traditional setting in the mass." And Luther's

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[32] The recent study by van Asselt calls into question Coccejus' influence among the Pietists. Van Asselt observes that Gottlob Schrenk located Coccejus' Pietist influence in his doctrine of the kingdom, a minor theme in Coccejus' thought. Coccejus' central emphasis upon covenant theology is not in evidence among Pietists. See Willem J. van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 337f.

[33] Gottlob Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im älteren Protestantismus, vornehmlich bei Johannes Cocceius* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1923); K. Reuter, *Wilhelm Amesius, der führende Theologe des erwachenden reformierten Pietismus* (Neukirchen: 1940).

[34] Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund*, pp. 298, 300."Die coccejanische Theologie ist eine den deutschen Pietismus tief beeinflussende Macht geworden." Coccejus' views would have been mediated by Campegius Vitringa and Friedrich Adolf Lampe, "the most effective Coccejans for German Pietism." (pp. 302f)

[35] van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, pp. 310f, 316.

[36] van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, pp. 316, 321.

[37] Conrad Brößke, *Der Kinder Gottes seligster Schlaff*, herausgegeben durch Conrad Brößken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1708), fol. 17. This sermon is discussed in more detail below.

sermon texts were generally taken from the traditionally prescribed system of pericopes.[38] In Sunday services he relied on the prescribed Biblical texts for the liturgical readings, and he preached from the Gospel for that day.

> We keep to the customary appointed readings of the Epistles and Gospels through the calendar year for the following reason: We know of no good reason to criticize the practice. It is now the case in Wittenberg that there are many [young preachers] here who are learning to preach for places in which this division of Epistles and Gospels is still in use, and perhaps will so remain. Because people still find this custom to be useful, we allow it to continue.[39]

Luther encouraged less capable preachers to simply read from the homily based upon the Sunday Gospel. He saw this as necessary to avoid the problems found among the radicals, where "everyone preaches what he wishes."

> The sermon should follow the Gospel for that Sunday or for the feast day. It seems best to me to arrange that the Postill [Homily] of the day should be read aloud to the people, not only for the sake of the preacher who can do no better, but also to protect them from Schwärmer and sects. When there is not adequate spiritual understanding…, then the result is that everyone will preach what he wants, and instead of the Gospel and its proclamation, they will preach on the [tale of the] blue duck. This is one of the reasons why we retain the Epistle and Gospel readings as they are arranged in the Postill; for there are still few good preachers who can preach from the whole gospel or some other book with understanding and edification for their hearers.[40]

Following Luther, Lutheran preaching remained closely tied to the pericopes. *Postillen* or sermon collections by Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, Johannes Brenz and later Johann Arndt, became influential models for early modern pastors.[41]

The Reformed churches, in contrast, exercised the freedom to depart from the prescribed liturgical texts. "The Reformed church had the great

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[38] Brilioth, *A Brief History of Preaching*, pp. 114, 117, and Beutel, "Predigt," col. 1587.

[39] Luther, "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts, 1526," p. 79. "Wir wissen nichts sonderlichs ihn solcher weyse zu taddeln…"

[40] Ibid., p. 95.

[41] Beutel, "Predigt," col. 1588. See also Bodo Nischan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 88 (1997), pp. 199–216.

and blessed advantage that it did not remain bound to the ecclesiastical pericopes, so that it was possible for it to teach whole biblical books in a continuous series of sermons."[42] Bröske alluded to this Reformed innovation when he wrote: "In the time of the Reformation this human requirement [to preach from the pericopes] was abolished in most places in the Reformed church, in others left to human freedom, and in a very few retained as necessary."[43]

In the *Vorrede* to his published sermon collection, Bröske reflected on the origin and usefulness of the custom of preaching and writing sermons based on prescribed Gospel pericopes for Sundays and feast days. He saw both advantages and disadvantages in relying on such texts. Among disadvantages he noted that the practice had only come into existence under Charlemagne and was without precedent in the early church. Prior to the ninth century, "the Christian teacher was free to choose, explain and expound to his hearers from the whole revealed Word of God the matter which he considered useful for the general edification of his congregation."[44] Furthermore, the requirement to preach only prescribed Gospel texts had had the long-term effect of entrenching Biblical ignorance and illiteracy in both Christian teachers and their hearers. Preachers became lazy in their preparation and some hearers became casual about their church attendance since they had heard it all before.[45] In effect, "the Bible was wrested out of the hands of the common person, and a so-called Gospel book was left in their hands…"[46] Finally, reliance on the pericopes could become frustrating for more educated and diligent pastors, for it meant they had to repeat their sermons. "Through this requirement they were forced to preach no other texts but these, to hide their light under a bushel and not to enlighten their hearers with it…"[47]

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[42] Goebel, *Bd. 2*, p. 114.

[43] Brößke, "Vorrede," *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen*, p. 5. Bröske wrote: "Dannenhero auch dieses Menschen-Gebott zur Zeit der Reformation an den meisten Orten in der Reformirten Kirchen abgeschaffet, an andern der Christlichen Freyheit überlassen, und an den wenigsten als nöthig behalten worden."

[44] Ibid., p. 1.

[45] Rublack, "Success and Failure of the Reformation," pp. 162f. Rublack cites a contemporary source: Balthasar Köpke, *Praxis Catechetica, Etliche Aussfleuchte der gemeinen Leute auff dem Lande, Womit sie ihre Suende und un-christliches unordentliches unbuszfertiges Wesen pflegen zu entschuldigen wann sie aus Gottes Wort zur wahren Buss und Besserung diss Lebens ermahnet werden.* [Frankfurt: Johann David Zunner, 1697), p. 362.

[46] Brößke, "Vorrede," *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen*, p. 2.

[47] Ibid., p. 3.

But for Bröske, the advantages of using the Gospel pericopes outweighed the disadvantages. The answer was not to despise the texts but to transform the "customary fare," the Gospel sermon, into a source of edification.[48] Bröske's continued use of the pericopes reflected his desire to serve those in his flock who still practised the custom of reading Gospel meditations at home in addition to hearing sermons at church. As the eighteenth century wore on, one could find many peasants who read their Bible and sermons on holy days.[49] Bröske knew that popular religion at the time was characterized by a "deep-seated prejudice against newfangled things." "Any alteration in ceremony or custom occasioned confusion."[50] This was especially true among rural peasants who formed the majority of the population in the Ysenburg County.

Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) likewise retained the traditional preaching texts, although he felt the burden of the Lutheran practice of preaching from the identical Gospel texts year after year. Spener brought variety to his preaching by creative use of the sermon's introduction (the *Exordium*), using it to teach some portion of the catechism or a passage from Paul's epistles. A novelty in Spener was his shift of emphasis from the gospels to preaching primarily from the epistles.[51] Spener in effect preached two sermons in a row each time that he preached.[52]

Bröske's approach to the pericopes differed from Spener's and from the majority of his fellow Reformed preachers. Rather than simply setting the pericopes aside or adding an additional section to the sermon, for Bröske the issue was the intention and method that the preacher brought to the texts. So long as the preacher aimed at the edification of his hearers, there was no reason why the traditional Gospel texts could not be used. In the foreword to the *Betrachtungen*, Bröske assured his readers that their edification was his great object in publishing the sermons. "…one finds in [these Gospel texts] a true, pure, upright,

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[48] Ibid., p. 5. "…diese [Texte] nicht zu verachten sondern zu vermehren und zu zeigen wie das heilsame Wort Gottes auff vielerley Art und Weise den Menschen als Lehr-reich und erbaulich könne vorgetragen werden; und den Liebhabern so wol unter den Lehrern als Zuhörern Anlaß und Gelegenheit zu weiterem Nachsinnen auch selbsten über solche Materien zu geben…"

[49] Rublack, "Success and Failure of the Reformation," pp. 162 n. 119, 164.

[50] Ibid.," pp. 148, 163.

[51] Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, p. 206.

[52] Brecht, "Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen," pp. 288f. "Aber dies lief darauf hinaus, daß er faktisch eine doppelte Predigt hielt, was formal und praktisch problematisch war."

useful and edifying Word of God which one may explain like the rest of the revealed Word, and use along with it to edification, with which intent these are considered even here."[53]

Bröske's conservative stance on the issue is somewhat surprising in view of his observation, noted above, that, "in the time of the Reformation this human requirement [to preach from the pericopes] was abolished in most places in the Reformed church…"[54] Why would Bröske go against the majority of his Reformed colleagues in claiming this freedom for himself and even feeling justified in urging the practice upon others? Two observations can be made. *First*, Bröske's approach to Christian renewal was generally to try to give new life to old forms. This was evident in his famous controversy with Johann Konrad Dippel. The separatist Dippel expressed frustration with his Philadelphian fellow-traveler for his retention of a position in the state church system, continuance of the sacrament of infant baptism, and reliance on the Reformed confessions and covenant theology. Bröske's defence was to argue for renewing the spirit and piety in which these forms were held and observed, not to abolish them outright. Bröske's continued use of the pericopes is consistent with this approach.

Secondly, Bröske's conservative stance reflected his concern to promote a uniform high standard of preaching and teaching among pastors and teachers within the region. Regular preaching of the Gospel texts, using his methods, could achieve this. Bröske expressed the hope that teachers would consider the method he used in his Gospel meditations and the new avenues it opened up for presenting the Word of God to their hearers.[55] As Court Preacher in Offenbach, Bröske's position on this issue reflects his sense of obligation as First Preacher to maintain some measure of uniformity of practice among preachers and teachers in the territory, and to respect the traditional devotional practice of rural people.

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[53] Brößke, "Vorrede," *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen*, p. 4. "…so findet man darinnen ein wahres, reines, auffrichtiges, nützliches und erbauliches Wort Gottes, welches man gar wol wie das übrige geoffenbarete Wort mag erklären und Erbauung damit stifften, in welchem Absehen dieselbige auch hier betrachtet werden."

[54] Ibid., p. 5.

[55] Ibid. "…und den Liebhabern so wol unter den Lehrern als Zuhörern Anlaß und Gelegenheit zu weiterem Nachsinnen auch selbsten über solche Materien zu geben, welche sonsten in und bey der gewöhnlichen Erklärung selten oder auch wol gar nicht vor zukommen pflegen."

Bröske's Use of Varied Preaching Methods Aimed at Practical Application

In the *Betrachtungen*, Bröske drew attention to his varied and practical preaching method. He somewhat proudly contrasted his "rich, varied and edifying" ways of exposition with what he characterized as "the customary approach" (*bey der gewöhnlichen Erklärung*). He hoped to pass on to his fellow preachers a new method of presentation (*unter einer andern Manier des Vortrags*). Bröske stated that he discussed all the Gospel texts in various ways and means (*auff vielerley Art und Weise*), insisting that these comprised one and the same method (*auff einerley Art*).[56]

What exactly constituted the "various ways and means" and the "new manner of presentation" by which Bröske hoped to supersede the usual methods of explanation and to help teachers to improve their preaching and teaching? His method had four elements: *first*, one should set out the "letter" of the text and explain anything that was unclear; *second*, one should indicate what can be derived from the text according to the method of doctrinal instruction; *third*, the matter should be set forth symbolically in terms of both the church and the world as the subject required; and *finally*, the matter should be specifically suited to the individual needs of various kinds of people, both the godly and the ungodly.[57] This four-fold method is evident in the sub-title to the *Betrachtungen*: "in which each Gospel text is briefly summarized; secondly, the doctrinal truths are set out in a series of points; thirdly, the symbolic meaning of the text is explained with reference to the church and the world; and finally, it is applied to the individual person in both his outward and inward condition and situation."[58] The title draws attention to the special character of Bröske's Gospel meditations in contrast to the "customary approach," typified perhaps by the younger Carpzov and his primary focus on doctrinal instruction. Bröske sought to preach in a way that was edifying for all classes of people and addressed their individual needs.

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] The full title of Bröske's collection of sermons reads: *Konrad Bröβkens . . . Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen der so genannten Sonn- und Fest-Täglichen Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr. Darinnen Erstlich ein jedes Evangelium gantz entworffen und kurtz erkläret; Zweytens die Lehr-Wahrheiten daraus in einer Reihe angezeiget; und Drittens der gantze Inhalt eines jeden Evangelii auff eine geheime und Sinnbildliche Weise bald auff die Kirche bald auff die Welt insgemein bald auff diese oder jene Begebenheit dann auch den Menschen ins besondere so wohl nach dem äusserlichen als innerlichen Zustande zugeeignet wird* (Franckfurt: Johann Maximilian von Sand, 1716).

One of Bröske's Gospel meditations serves to illustrate his method. For the fourth Sunday after Epiphany Bröske's Meditation was on the passage in Matthew 8:23–27, the story of Jesus calming the storm when he and the disciples were out in a boat on the Sea of Galilee. Bröske's meditation on this text was about nine printed pages in length. He suggested that the story itself consisted of two parts: *first*, the great storm which posed a danger to the disciples in the boat with Jesus, and, *secondly*, the miraculous calming of the storm by Christ.[59] Bröske discussed the first part, the storm, under three headings: what had happened just before this in the account, the storm itself, and Jesus' condition during the storm. Bröske consulted parallel passages in the other Gospels, especially Luke 8, to determine that the boat trip was made on the evening after Jesus had told various parables concerning the church. After a day of teaching, Jesus was tired and wished to go off by himself for some rest. The storm itself he discussed in terms of the German word used in Luther's translation, *Ungestüm*, and various other possible equivalents, such as *Erschütterung* or *Bewegung*. Tired after his day's teaching, Jesus slept in the back of the boat. Jesus was, after all, fully human, and so fell asleep and was oblivious to what was going around him, although his divine nature knew what was happening.[60]

The second part was also divided into three by Bröske: what happened just before the miracle (Jesus was awakened and spoke with the disciples about their little faith), the calming of the sea (Jesus' command and the sea's obedient response), and what then followed (the amazement of the disciples and other onlookers). Jesus demonstrated that he was the true God, of one essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit.[61] This two-part summary comprised about five pages in Bröske's discussion of the passage.

Bröske then moved to a one page presentation of the doctrinal lessons that his readers should derive from the Gospel story. He offered a series of one sentence lessons, 15 in all, including the following: in this world believers find themselves cast on a wild sea with stormy winds and dangers; in such a situation they can do no better than to call on Jesus for help and salvation; unbelief is the mother of anxiety and fear; little faith is something the Saviour cannot tolerate in his own.[62] Bröske

[59] Ibid., p. 123.
[60] Ibid., p. 125.
[61] Ibid., p. 127.
[62] Ibid., p. 128.

next considered the words of the text in yet another fashion, that is, symbolically—an approach that would be more directly helpful and edifying. This discussion he drew out for about three pages of commentary. Thus the ship became the church of God in a stormy world in the New Testament age.[63] Finally, Bröske moved from this general discussion of symbolism to a half page of discussion of how this all applied to each individual in his or her particular moral situation. He encouraged his readers to be sure that they were not traveling to eternity in a ship of this world, one composed of "mouth Christians" (*Mund-Christen*) who live in adultery and robbery. Rather, "we must travel in the small boat of the Lord Jesus, in his church and congregation, even though it may be cast among many and great dangers. He helps his faithful ones out of all danger."[64]

Of course this method was not original with Bröske. It is similar to the four-fold method of medieval exegesis in which Scripture had both a literal and spiritual sense. The spiritual sense enhances Christian understanding through reference to Christ, the church and Christian living. Bröske's fourth element, application of the text to the individual person in both his outward and inward condition and situation, recalls Luther's concern to address the doubts and fears of Christian people.[65] The Christian conscience is a fragile thing, in need of examples that address Christian experience.

Bröske's Rejection of Separatism and Affirmation of the Parish Church

Also characteristic of Bröske as a court preacher was his rejection of separatism and his affirmation of the parish church, a position that set Bröske apart from his more radical Pietist friends. Many of Bröske's Philadelphian colleagues, including Heinrich Horch and Johann Henrich Reitz, met in conventicles in anticipation of the re-constituting of the church as the church of the re-born. Their rejection of the parish or confessional churches was part of their preparation for this new regime. Dippel and Horch were prime examples of this.

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[63] Ibid., p. 129.
[64] Ibid., p. 131.
[65] Dietrich Rössler, "Beispiel und Erfahrung: Zu Luthers Homiletik," in Christian Albrecht und Martin Weeber, ed., *Klassiker der protestantischen Predigtlehre* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), pp. 15f.

In Bröske's sermon for the fifth Sunday after Epiphany he offered his reasons for rejecting such a stance. Bröske's meditation was on the passage in Matthew 13:24–30, the parable of the patient landowner. The man had planted good seed, only to discover when it began to grow up that his enemy had sown weeds among the grain. The landowner instructed his servants to let both weeds and grain grow to maturity; in this way they could more easily gather the weeds without disturbing the grain, then burn the weeds, and gather the grain into his barns.

For Bröske, as for most Protestant interpreters, this was a parable portraying the present situation of the Christian church on the earth.[66] The visible church was like a field where good seed and bad were sown among each other. The godly were the good seed which Christ has sown, the godless the weeds that the devil has sown. Christ was the "lord" of the church; his "servants" were the preachers and teachers. Teachers and preachers ought to be concerned, like the servants in the parable, about the condition of the church.

Bröske devoted about half his discussion to the parable's spiritual application to his readers. He argued that this parable applied to the whole of church history, represented by the seven churches of Revelation chapters two and three. The church had ever been beset by the presence of the godless alongside the godly. From the time of Christ and the apostles up to the present, one could find the two "seeds"—the preaching of the gospel of Jesus and the devil's sowing of falsehood through false teachers. In every one of the seven churches of Revelation one could find this twofold working of good and evil.

Unfortunately, there were always those who thought that one should drive out the bad and unbelieving people from among the community of the godly in order to once again establish a pure and faithful church. "But," warned Bröske, "it has been found that this cannot be done without doing great harm to Christendom." "God does not call people all at one time; but sends one early, another late, into his vineyard (Matthew 20:1–7). So it might easily happen that one intended to uproot a weed by a thorough separation and banning, and cast out one who by God's grace was a good stalk of grain and would eventually show himself to be such."[67]

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[66] Brößke, *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen*, p. 135.
[67] Ibid., p. 138.

Despite Bröske's many writings condemning the corruption of the "church of Sardis" (the Reformation and confessional churches) and his hopes for the soon arrival of the church of Philadelphia, he clearly avoided the separatist option of people such as Dippel.[68] His duties as First Preacher in the territory of his prince influenced his thinking on this issue. Bröske felt responsible for the *whole* parish, not just a select few.

Bröske's Close Relationship with the Count and Countess

Bröske's sermon at the funeral of the Countess Charlotte Amalie, on August 8, 1707, is a valuable source for understanding his social position and outlook as a court preacher. Bröske's text for the occasion was John 11:11–14, where Jesus and the disciples discuss the death of Lazarus. Bröske divided his sermon into a clarification of the meaning of the text, a consideration of the passage's doctrinal points, and an application or dedication of the text to the Countess. This last section amounted to about half the sermon. Bröske used the same varied and edifying method in his funeral sermon as he used in his Gospel sermons.[69]

Bröske began the sermon with assurances that the Countess had lived her life as "the friend of Christ and his disciples." He downplayed the spiritual significance of her nobility, observing that her friendship with Christ was founded "not in her high birth, nor in her high family relations, nor in her estate, nor in her many titles, nor in her precious jewels and wealth, nor in her great knowledge and skill."[70] It lay, rather, in her

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[68] Dippel attacked the authorities in church and state in a writing in 1700, *Christenstadt auf Erden ohne gewöhnlichen Lehr-, Wehr- und Nährstand*. "Hand in Hand damit ging die Leugnung aller Autorität in Staat und Kirche, die Verwerfung der vom kirchlichen Pietismus unangetastet gelassenen Ständeordnung." Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993), p. 143.

[69] Conrad Bröske, *Der Kinder Gottes Seligster Schlaff an dem seligen Schlaffe oder Tode Lazari, des geliebten Freundes Jesu wahrgenommen und auß Veranlassung des im Jahr Christi 1707. zwischen dem 8ten und 9ten Tag Augusti Nachts um 12. Uhre so unvermutheten als höchst-seligen Einschlaffens und Absterbens der weyland Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen Frauen Charlotten Amalien . . . heraus-gegeben durch Conrad Bröβken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1708). The funeral sermon Bröske preached in August 1707 upon the death of the Duchess of Ysenburg and Büdingen followed essentially the same methodology as the *Betrachtungen*. Missing is the third element, the passage's symbolical meaning in terms of both the church and the world. Presumably he felt the occasion did not require it.

[70] Ibid., fol. 17.

life as a disciple of Christ, in her godly life, in her Christian faith. She may have lived as a princess in a prince's court; but such titles were of no value before God. In true Reformed fashion, Bröske suggested that it would diminish the honour of God to minimize the guilt of which God had forgiven her. The Countess was "no angel" (*keinen Engel*); her failings "are known to us." But the crucial issue was not whether she had been a sinner, but whether she had become the friend of Christ.[71] Of the latter there could be no doubt. This frankness on Bröske's part strikes one as highly familiar; reflecting his comfortable place within the noble family through marriage.

The Protestant tradition tended to find a woman's identity in her ties to her husband, children and home. "Once the Reformation was established, most women expressed their religious convictions in a domestic rather than a public setting."[72] In the community women could care for the sick and serve the needy; preaching and teaching were out of the question.[73] Bröske's funeral sermon for Countess Charlotte Amalie presents a very different picture of the Countess's service in the church and court. He portrayed the Countess as a "master" in her knowledge and practice of the faith. She was blessed with a prodigious memory. The questions, answers and proof texts of the *Heidelberg Catechism* that she had learned as a child, she continued to draw on at will in her adult life in opposing some false teaching or praising a virtue. Bröske noted her ability to call to mind events of her youth, remembering the year, month, day and the smallest details of a story. When members of the court were unable recall a certain birth, wedding or funeral date, it became a saying, "One need only ask the Countess to find out." Learned men remarked that her prodigious memory should be put to good use in writing historical works.[74]

The Countess's memory served her well in a worship context. She could generally sing all the verses of a song or hymn without relying on a songbook. She knew the whole 119th Psalm from memory. Likewise, she could recite the historical books of the Old Testament from memory "almost without mistake," and for any chapter in the Bible could recall what subject was contained there. She could remember the exact contents

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[71] Ibid., fol. 18.

[72] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, "Women," in Hans Hillerbrand, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation, Vol. 4* (New York: Oxford Unviersity Press, 1996), p. 293.

[73] Karant-Nunn, "Kinder, Küche," pp. 132f.

[74] Brößke, *Der Kinder Gottes seligster Schlaff*, fol. 18, 19.

of sermons preached over twenty years before.[75] Bröske recalled her energetic application of the Scriptures in teaching the unlearned, opposing erroneous opinions, rebuking the godless, strengthening the weak: "I myself often stood amazed at the streams of teaching, correction, warning and rebuke that flowed from this (one can truthfully say, truly learned) mouth." "So well had she mastered the principles and arguments for the Reformed faith that she had no need to fear anyone; indeed, some theologians were known to be happy to avoid a confrontation with her over theological questions."[76]

While early modern funeral sermons for women generally served as "instruments by which [traditional] Protestant virtues were firmly hammered home," one does find examples of "other, more emancipated, role models."[77] Women were sometimes marked out for praise by their physical courage and their intellectual activities. Some were credited with being able to hold their own in discussions with men, even participating in theological debate. "The strong influence of the actual experience by men of women mastering the complexities of everyday life…allows the intrusion into the '*Lebenslauf*' of matter not directly connected with the portrayal of stereotype female virtues."[78] Bröske's ascription of many unusual attributes to the Countess fits this pattern; his funeral sermon is representative of a *topos* that gave recognition to exceptional women. In recounting her impressive knowledge and memory, and her work in "teaching, warning and rebuke," Bröske placed the Countess within the growing category of leading and learned women of his day.

Conclusion

In Bröske the preacher one observes a picture of both innovation and conformity. Distinctive features of his pastoral strategy include his attempt to give new life to the prescribed Gospel pericopes, or preaching texts, used in Sunday worship. He aimed at practical application by using a variety of interpretive strategies. Bröske knew that popular

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[75] Ibid., fol. 19.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Jill Bepler, "Women in German Funeral Sermons: Models of Virtue or Slice of Life?," *German Life and Letters* 44:5 (October 1991), pp. 398–400.
[78] Bepler, "Women in German Funeral Sermons," p. 401.

religion at the time was characterized by a "deep-seated prejudice against newfangled things." "Any alteration in ceremony or custom occasioned confusion."[79] His affirmation of non-separatism reflected his close relationship with the Count and Countess. It did nothing, however, to enamour Bröske with fellow Pietists such as Johann Konrad Dippel. Bröske's funeral sermon for Countess Charlotte Amalie is a moving personal tribute to the Countess from the court preacher, showing remarkable insight into her piety and gifts. The sermon reflects his intimate acquaintance with the Count and Countess as well as the esteem and respect in which he held them.

A recent study argues that radical Pietists typically challenged preaching traditions more than ecclesial Pietists, stressing the illumination of the spirit, preaching by the laity and criticism of university-educated clergy.[80] By this standard, Bröske's preaching was not radical.

[79] Rublack, "Success and Failure of the Reformation," pp. 148, 163.

[80] Jonathan Strom, "Pietism and Revival," in Joris van Eijnatten, ed. *Preacher, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

THE PHILADELPHIAN CHILIAST

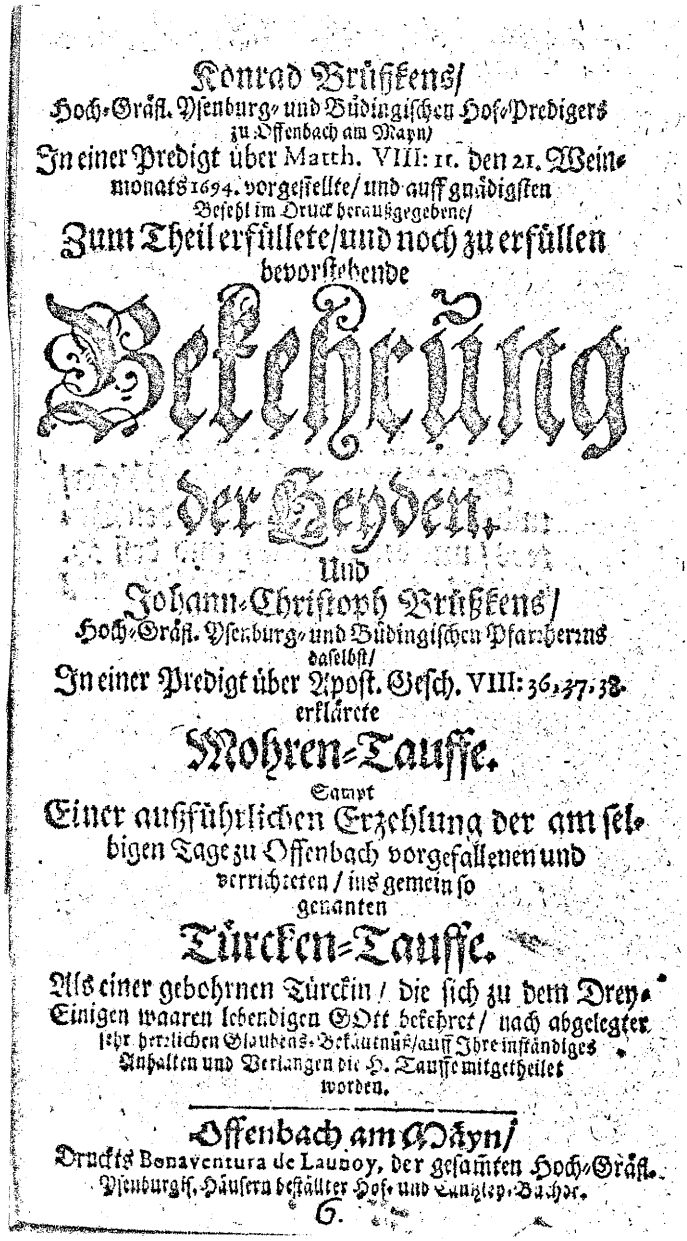
CHAPTER FIVE

CONVERTING THE HEATHEN IN THE LAST DAYS: TURKISH BAPTISMS IN THE YSENBURG COURT IN THE 1690S

On the 21st of October 1694 Conrad Bröske took part in a remarkable event: the baptism of a young Turkish woman in the Reformed Church in Offenbach. Three primary source documents provide witness to the baptism, all published in November 1694: Conrad Bröske's sermon on the morning of the baptism, "The Conversion of the Heathen"; Johann Christoph Bröske's sermon during the service, "The Baptism of the Moors"; and the latter's detailed account of the baptism, "The Account of each and every circumstance under and by which Holy Baptism has been extended to a woman born a Turk but converted to true Christianity."[1] The published sermons were intended to help a wider public appreciate and understand the significance of the baptism. In his *Dedication* to Lady Charlotte Friderica, Bröske expressed his conviction that the baptism was just the beginning of a spring of worldwide renewal marked by "the fullness of the heathen." "[We] have in this baptized girl a true sparrow of the soon-coming wished-for spring, the beginning of the fullness of the heathen as well as the conversion of all Israel…"[2]

[1] These three documents were published in Offenbach together in one volume: Conrad Bröske, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1694), pp. 7–55; Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Moren-Tauffe* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1694), pp. 56–98; Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung aller und jeden Umstände unter und bey welchen einer gebohrnen aber zum waaren Christenthum bekehrten Türckin die H. Tauffe ist mitgetheilet worden* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1694), pp. 99–112. These sources can be found in the Staatsarchiv Darmstadt. I am indebted to the late Pfarrer Albert Kratz of Offenbach for giving me his copies of these and other Bröske sources in July 1993.

[2] "…hiermit anzuwünschen daß Sie an dieser nunmehr Getaufften eine rechte Schwalbe deß heran-nahenden erwünschten Frühlings haben, den Eingang der Fülle der Heyden wie auch die Bekehrung deß gantzen Israels erleben…" Conrad Bröske, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1694), p. 4.



Konrad Brüßkens/
Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Predigers
zu Offenbach am Mayn/
In einer Predigt über Matth. VIII: 11. den 21. Weinmonats 1694. vorgestellte/ und auff gnädigsten
Befehl im Druck herauß gegebene/
Zum Theil erfüllete/ und noch zu erfüllen
bevorstehende
Bekehrung
der Heyden.
Und
Johann-Christoph Brüßkens/
Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburg- und Büdingischen Pfarrherrns
daselbst/
In einer Predigt über Apost. Gesch. VIII: 36, 37, 38.
erklärete
Mohren-Tauffe.
Sampt
Einer außführlichen Erzehlung der am selbigen Tage zu Offenbach vorgefallenen und
verrichteten / ins gemein so
genanten
Türcken-Tauffe.
Als einer gebohrnen Türckin / die sich zu dem Drey-Einigen waaren lebendigen GOtt bekehret / nach abgelegter sehr herrlichen Glaubens-Bekäntnüß/ auff Ihre inständiges Anhalten und Verlangen die H. Tauffe mitgetheilet worden.
Offenbach am Mayn/
Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy, der gesamten Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburgisch. Häusern bestallter Hof- und Canzley-Buchdr.
G.

Fig. 3. Title page of Bröske's sermon for the baptism of a Turkish servant girl: *Bekehrung der Heyden* (1694).

Bröske introduced these publications with his own concise account of the events that had lead up to the baptism.

> The person, a native-born Turkish girl, having been baptized here in Offenbach on the 21st of October [Weinmonats] upon public confession of her faith and having been admitted to the Lord's Table, next celebrated on the 4th of December, was brought here from Hungary in 1687[3] at about 9 or 10 years of age by a captain of the Count of Ysenburg/Büdingen, and then handed over to the Count and Lord Johann Philipp, Count of Ysenburg and Büdingen as well as to the Noble Lady Charlotte Amelia Countess of Ysenburg and Büdingen. Thanks to their gracious oversight, she has been instructed diligently in the knowledge of the truth which leads to godliness. In this knowledge she grew so that she has been able to share in the above-mentioned privileges of the faith. And that is the occasion on which the following sermons and additional account of the circumstances were orally presented, and now published in print. Once the reader knows somewhat more surely and clearly concerning the teachings presented here, he is requested to pass on the information for common edification…[4]

Bröske's desire that readers know "somewhat more surely and clearly" about what had transpired, suggests the spread of misinformation and rumour concerning the baptism. He sought to clarify what had happened and the significance of these events so that readers could then share their knowledge for the edification of others.[5]

The Second Preacher in Offenbach, Conrad's cousin Johann Christoph Bröske, did in fact report "each and every circumstance" of the baptism in great detail. He observed, for example, that the questioning of the girl lasted "about an hour long"; she answered "in a way that was clear, complete and proper, and in only one instance gave a wrong answer."[6] The service had to be hurried along "since night was soon to fall."[7] His careful reporting reflects the unusual circumstances of the baptism, but also suggests that some had concerns about its propriety. Johann Christoph had in mind a large and curious public, and sought

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[3] Buda, Hungary had been captured by the Habsburgs just one year earlier, in 1686. See the next section of this chapter.

[4] Bröske, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden*, pp. 5f.

[5] Bröske, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden*, pp. 5, 6.

[6] "…in allem nur ein einziges mahl eine Fehl-Antwort gegeben." See Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung aller und jeden Umstände unter und bey welchen einer gebohrnen aber zum waaren Christenthum bekehrten Türckin die H. Tauffe ist mitgetheilet worden*, p. 105.

[7] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, p. 110.

to assure this public that everything had been conducted properly. He noted that the court preacher had assured those in attendance that the baptism would not in any way be rushed: "But in order that we not act rashly and that none of you feels rushed by us, this person must give a public account of her faith in the promise of God in Christ Jesus, and we wish to leave each person free to give his judgment as to whether he considers her worthy or unworthy."[8] The account recorded the congregation's "judgment" [*Urtheil*] of the girl's readiness to be accepted into the Christian fold, thereby assuring the Christian public that nothing had been done hastily or improperly.

To set the stage for these events, it is important to consider that Bröske's world included the empire of the Ottoman Turks and its sudden demise. And Bröske's views on Turkish conversion must be set in the context of how first generation Protestant Reformers viewed the Turk.

The Empire of the Ottoman Turks and its Demise

In the sixteenth century the Ottoman empire included the Balkan Peninsula south of the Danube and part of the Hungarian kingdom. These territories had been conquered by the Ottoman Turks between the fourteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century. Led by the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (ca. 1494–1566), the Turks conquered Belgrade in 1521 and Rhodes in 1522. In 1526 the Turkish army defeated the Hungarians under the young King Louis II at the Battle of Mohacs.[9] In 1541 the Turks occupied Buda and Pest on the Danube, taking over central Hungary. Suleiman was a patron of the arts and sciences, and represented a liberal, tolerant Islam. In exchange for paying taxes, the Ottomans allowed the various ethnocultural communities in the empire to live by their own laws, and granted them freedom to worship according to their own religion.[10] With this decentralized Ottoman system, the Turkish sultans were

[8] Ibid., pp. 103, 104.

[9] Stephen Fischer-Galati, "Ottoman Empire," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation, vol. 3* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 186, and Mark U. Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–1546* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 97.

[10] Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizons: A History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Random House, 1999).

generally more tolerant than were Catholic and Protestant rulers at the time. Under Turkish rule Catholicism went into decline; Protestantism spread, however, and Hungarian nobility turned to Calvinism. The "survival and expansion of Protestantism in its various confessions in Germany, Hungary and Transylvania was to a considerable extent a function of two interrelated aspects of Ottoman-Islamic imperialism: military action and religious toleration."[11]

By the late seventeenth century central and southern Hungary had been under Turkish rule for 150 years. The Austrian Habsburgs decided the time had come to re-claim Turkish Hungary.[12] From 1683 to 1699 there was on-going war as Austria steadily won back lands that had been occupied by the Ottoman Turks. In just six years of fighting the Ottomans suffered the loss of Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia and Slovenia.[13] After the failed Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottoman army suffered a series of setbacks. The Habsburg attack focused on key Turkish fortresses along the Danube, capturing Pest in 1684, Buda in 1686 and Belgrade in 1688. Conscription of troops into the Ottoman army depopulated large parts of Hungary and Transylvania, leaving only the old and young to farm the land and care for the animals. From 1685 to 1687 there were severe food shortages, famine, and plague, leaving the masses in desperate conditions. Thousands of people lived by eating grass, nuts and walnut shells; thousands more died of starvation.[14] After the military disaster at the hands of the Habsburgs in Zenta on September 11, 1697, the Ottoman army forsook the field in disarray, leaving the sultan's territories in Europe defenceless.[15] In January 1699 the Turks were forced to accept the Peace of Karlowitz, ceding these lands to Habsburg rule.[16] The Habsburgs eliminated all

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[11] Fischer-Galati, "Ottoman Empire," pp. 186f.

[12] Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1715, 2nd ed.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1979), p. 280.

[13] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000), p. 38; Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars*, pp. 97, 280.

[14] Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. I: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 217–219. With Habsburg dominance Muslims and Jews "were as a result left in increasing poverty in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." See Stanford J. Shaw, in John L. Esposito, ed., "Ottoman Empire," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, vol. 3* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 274.

[15] Martin Sicker, *The Islamic World in Decline: From the Treaty of Karlowitz to the Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), p. 31.

[16] Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars*, p. 281 and John Gagliardo, *Germany under the Old Regime, 1600–1790* (New York: Longman, 1991), p. 250.

opposition on the central Danube and became absolute rulers of a central European dynastic state.[17]

The Ottoman expansion into the Balkans and central Europe had resulted in the settlement of large populations of Turks, who remain to this day. After the Ottoman army's retreat, these populations remained behind, along with many Ottoman soldiers and support people. Many of these entered court service, trades and professions. Some "converted and became priests or pastors."[18]

The Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683 had struck such fear in Europe that for generations mothers in Graz would threaten their disobedient children with threats that "the Turks will get you." With Habsburg victory, there was a sense of palpable relief.[19] The re-conquest of Hungary represented for Christian Europe "the lifting of a universal paranoia…"

> The victories won against the Turks in this relatively brief period for the first time, and forever after, removed from the hearts and minds of European Christians the terrible fear of a Turkish penetration of central and even western Europe—a fear whose depth and immediacy since the fall of Constantinople in 1453 is difficult to appreciate or even to imagine today. The repulse of…the Ottoman Empire amounted to…the breakthrough of brilliant sunshine on a scene hitherto always darkened by clouds feared as the harbinger of an all-destructive storm just over the horizon…This period of triumph [was] celebrated for many years in song, story, verse, the visual arts and perhaps above all in the surging power and majesty of the baroque architecture of the time…[20]

The removal of "terrible fear" and the breakthrough of "brilliant sunshine" found a resonance as well in a confident Protestant eschatology and theology of mission that was now so bold as to envision the conversion of the Turk. The baptism of Turks represents yet another implication of the newly secured political situation in eastern Europe.

Habsburg victories over the Ottomans were no distant reality for Conrad Bröske, for they resulted in Turkish children and young people being brought from Hungary to serve in the Ysenburg court. In 1687, at the time of greatest famine and hunger in Turkish Hungary, the

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[17] Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars*, p. 282.

[18] Jorgen S. Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe, Second Edition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1995), p. 2.

[19] Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 182.

[20] Gagliardo, *Germany under the Old Regime*, p. 251.

nine or ten year old Turkish girl was brought to Offenbach; seven years later she was baptized. Bröske's prince, Count Johann Philipp II, was noteworthy for his tolerance of cultural and religious differences. Besides Turkish refugees, he welcomed a flood of French Reformed refugees into his territory after revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and in 1708 he allowed construction of a Jewish synagogue to serve the numerous Jewish families that had made their way to his territory.[21] This cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic reality in Offenbach doubtless helped to shape Bröske's thinking, especially his eschatological outlook.

The Image of the Turk among Sixteenth Century Reformers

In the Middle Ages, Islam was perceived as a political and military threat that was best addressed by Crusade. Muslims and Christians understood themselves as "two mutually exclusive societies at war." After several defeats at the hands of the Muslims, Europeans were forced to acknowledge their intellectual and military prowess. From the late fifteenth century to the mid seventeenth century, Europeans typically saw the Turks as God's instrument of punishment for the failures and sins of Christian Europe. They were portrayed as a menace that threatened cruelty, murder, slavery and defilement of Christian sites. In some respects, Luther's view of the Turks represents "the last major contribution to the medieval problematic of Islam."[22] Thanks to the defeat of the Ottoman Turks in the 1680s and 1690s, and the rise of Enlightenment thought, a more pragmatic view gradually arose that accepted the Turk as a factor to be reckoned with in European politics.[23]

Following St. Augustine, Martin Luther viewed history as the stage of ongoing struggle between the forces of good and evil, between the true and false church. Luther found in Scripture a paradigm of conflict that extended from biblical history right up to his own day. He identified the kingdom of iron in Daniel with the Roman Empire, now the

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[21] F. Simon, *Die Geschichte des reichständischen Hauses Ysenburg und Büdingen* (Frankfurt: Brönners Verlag, 1865), pp. 335f. Simon described Graf Johann Philipp as "ein friedliebender Herr…"

[22] Paul Rajashekar, "Luther and Islam: An Asian Perspective," *Lutherjahrbuch* 57 (1990), pp. 179–181.

[23] John Tonkin, "Luther's Writings on the Turks," *Lutherjahrbuch* 71 (2004), p. 268.

Holy Roman Empire of the Germans; the papacy was the antichrist of Daniel chapter 11. The Turk was the small horn that replaces the three horns of the beast in Daniel chapter 7, and the Gog of Ezekiel and Revelation.[24] The Jews were the remnant of God's people who had rejected the truth and so were subject to God's wrath, and the Protestant radicals were the false prophets and apostles. Luther experienced opposition from false teachers just as the prophets and apostles had in biblical times. His polemics were often directed not so much against personal enemies as against the devil who, he believed, had inspired them.

In 1524 papal edicts at Worms (1521) and Nürnberg (1524) called for suppression of Luther's teaching and a campaign against the Turks in defence of the Christian faith. Luther responded by arguing that such a campaign was in vain; the Turks were ten times stronger and more godly. A campaign against the Turks would only demonstrate an unwillingness to repent and to assuage God's wrath.[25] After the Peasants' War of the mid-1520s, Luther became increasingly disillusioned, and convinced that he lived in the last days before God's final judgment.[26] Luther saw conditions in the world becoming continually worse; he could not conceive of dramatic change for the better or a soon-coming millennium.

Luther composed three major writings on the Turks. Luther's "On War against the Turks" was published in April 1529 in response to critics who accused Luther in his earlier statements of saying that to make war against the Turks was to oppose God.[27] Luther continued to reject the notion of Christian Crusade against the Turks because it mixed the spiritual and secular realms. Christians should fight the Turk spiritually, through prayer, repentance, and Christian living. The emperor, however, was fully justified in fighting a defensive war against the Turks, for he was duty-bound before God to defend his subjects.

Luther wrote "An Army Sermon against the Turks" in response to news that he received in October 1529 about the siege of Vienna by

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[24] Mark U. Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–1546* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 97.

[25] Rudolf Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," in Helmar Junghans, ed., *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526–1546* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), p. 648.

[26] Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, pp. 16f.

[27] Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," p. 650.

the Turks. Here we find Luther's clearest statement of his apocalyptic vision and sense of calling. The sermon was based on Daniel chapter 7 and Daniel's vision of the four beasts, each representing a kingdom. The fourth beast has ten horns; but then a small horn appears and replaces three of the ten. For Luther, the small horn was the kingdom of the Turks that had displaced the three earlier kingdoms of Egypt, Greece and Asia. The eyes of the beast were the *Qur'an* and represented human wisdom. The mouth represented the blasphemies taught by the Muslim faith. The Turks were the worst enemy of Christians, the scourge of God. Their rise was in response to the failings of God's people, most notably the abuses of the Pope in Rome. The fourth beast persecutes the saints until he is slain by the ancient of days. According to Revelation 20:8f. and Ezekiel 38:2, at the last judgment Gog and Magog will be defeated. In the meantime soldiers who served in a defensive war against these blasphemers showed themselves to be "saints of the most high," and those who died did so as holy martyrs. Should one fall into the hands of the Turks, Luther called on Christians to be true to their faith in Christ, and to remember that the good works of the Turks show them to be the devil's saints.[28]

In August 1541 Suleiman successfully invaded Buda and Pest, placing Hungary under Turkish control. On September 8, 1541 Elector Johann Friedrich requested Luther and Bugenhagen to help by calling upon the clergy and people of Saxony to repent and to pray against this new Turkish threat. In October 1541 Luther published "Admonition to Prayer against the Turks." Luther assumed the role of Old Testament prophet and rebuked the sins of the Germans in his day and accused them of repeating the ingratitude and sins of Israel. He noted the many heresies abroad that corrupted the gospel, especially those of Zwingli and the Anabaptists. He condemned the greed and theft common among peasants, burgers and nobility.[29] He encouraged the secular authorities to establish justice, live modestly, and commit themselves to God. They must realize that their fight was not against flesh and blood but against the army of the devil. The Turk and the Pope were the beast and false prophet, both of whom would be cast

[28] Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, pp. 99f., and Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," p. 654. Luther's *Heerrpredigt wider den Türken* of 1529 can be found in the *Weimar Ausgabe* 30/2, pp. 160–197.

[29] Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, pp. 103f.

into eternal fire at the last judgment.[30] Luther was convinced that the last day was at hand.

In February, 1542 Luther obtained and read a "badly rendered" Latin translation of the *Qur'an*. Luther was shocked by the impiety of the book, finding it even worse than he had imagined. His reading prompted Luther to translate a fourteenth century Latin refutation of the *Qur'an* entitled, *Confutatio Alcorani*. The *Confutatio* had been authored by a Florentine Dominican monk, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, who had spent several years as a missionary in the Middle East and had mastered the Arabic language. Luther published a German translation of the *Confutatio* in April 1542 with the title, *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi Prediger Ordens*. He included his own preface and an afterword in which he offered a brief refutation of the Muslim holy book. Luther hoped the publication would prepare Christians to refute any Muslims with whom they came into contact, either through military conflict or during imprisonment.[31] Luther considered the Pope a worse enemy to Christians than Mohammed because his errors were more subtle, and he was an internal enemy who deceived Christian people by retaining word and sacraments. The Muslims were merely the external enemy of Christians.[32]

In early 1543, Luther was instrumental in the publication of Theodor Bibliander's Latin translation of the *Qur'an*, along with a Latin preface by Luther. He assured the Basel city council that if they would not publish it, Wittenberg would be happy to. Luther called on the learned to prepare themselves against Muhammad and "to read the writings of the enemy in order to refute them more keenly." Luther was confident that if the *Qur'an* were published, people would be able to see its flaws for themselves and be confirmed in their Christian faith.[33] The Basel council agreed to publication, but without the name of the publisher or city.[34]

To sum up, Luther departed from medieval Catholic views of the Turk by rejecting calls for Crusade. For Luther, war against the Turk

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[30] Ibid., p. 105, and Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," p. 658.

[31] Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," p. 659. Luther's *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi Prediger Ordens* of 1542 can be found in the *Weimar Ausgabe* 53, pp. 272–396.

[32] Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, pp. 107–110.

[33] Sarah Henrich and James L. Boyce, "Martin Luther—Translations of Two Prefaces on Islam," *Word & World* XVI:2 (Spring 1996), pp. 263, 266. Luther's Latin preface of 1543 can be found in the *Weimar Ausgabe* 53, pp. 569–572.

[34] Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," p. 660.

was a secular matter, to be justified by rules of just war and pursued only in self-defence. At the end of his life, Luther was filled with an increasing sense of apocalyptic foreboding. He had lost hope for the successful preaching of the gospel in the world, and looked only for the last day.[35] Luther expected that in the year 1600, "the Turk will come and completely devastate Germany."[36]

Other reformers shared Luther's sense that they were living in the last days; they expected the imminent return of Christ in final judgment. Zwingli, Calvin, Bullinger, and Bibliander all viewed the Pope as the Antichrist, and Mohammad, the Muslims, and the Turks as his servants.[37] Because of Turkish military advances in Europe and in the Mediterranean, Protestants tended to follow Luther in his disparagement of the Turks and the Muslim faith, regarding them as "mortal enemies of Christendom, the 'scourge of God,' and a force that had to be removed from the European continent."[38] In his comments about the Turks and the Muslim religion, Calvin largely followed the views of his time.[39] He read Luther's writings with appreciation and generally accepted what he found there regarding the Turk. Calvin's interpretation of Daniel 7 echoes Luther in identifying the Turks with the little horn.[40]

Calvin's references to the Turks are found mainly in his letters, commentaries and sermons, rather than in his systematic works, and are usually in response to reports of military activity in Hungary. Like Luther, he opposed any church-supported Crusade against the Turks, preferring to leave military defence in the hands of European political leaders.[41] Calvin criticized the Turks above all for their failure to acknowledge Christ as the true revelation of God. "So today the Turks, although they proclaim at the top of their lungs that the Creator of heaven and earth is God, still, while repudiating Christ, substitute an idol in place of the true God." For Calvin, "Jews, Papists and Turks"

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[35] Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, pp. 112–114.
[36] Mau, "Luthers Stellung zu den Türken," p. 661.
[37] Rudolf Pfister, "Reformation, Türken und Islam," *Zwingliana* X, 6 (1956), p. 363.
[38] Fischer-Galati, "Ottoman Empire," p. 186.
[39] Jan Slomp observed that, compared to Luther, there has been little scholarly work done on Calvin and the Turks. Jan Slomp, "Calvin and the Turks," in Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Zaidan Haddad, ed. *Christian Muslim Encounters* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), pp. 126, 140 n. 4.
[40] Ibid., p. 138.
[41] Ibid., pp. 126, 129.

were all guilty of worshipping a false God, because they approached him without Christ.[42] Calvin did take note of Muslim zeal, and rebuked Christians for often demonstrating less sincere devotion. "One should watch the Turks…how much they seek to devote themselves to their Mahommet, even to the point that they see no problem in giving their life for their law."[43]

Calvin referred to Muhammad some twenty-five times, viewing him as responsible for deceiving Turkish Christians and seducing them away from Christ and the Christian faith. He faulted Muhammad for his "diabolic curiosity," causing him to forsake Scripture in search of new revelation.[44] There are few references to the *Qur'an* in Calvin, and no quotations of it. Unlike Luther and Melanchthon, Calvin showed little interest in studying the *Qur'an*. His knowledge of Islam and its teachings was "very casual" at best.[45] Calvin seemed not to be aware of notions that he shared with Muhammad, such as the doctrine of divine election. He was also apparently unaware that Abraham plays a central role in the *Qur'an*, or that Jesus has a place in the Muslim holy book.[46]

Calvin saw the Turks as beyond the reach of the Gospel. They are "apostates, alienated from true religion," for "Satan has deceived them."[47] Among Calvin's contemporaries, Erasmus, Bibliander and Martin Bucer stand out as affirming that all peoples, including the Turks, are included in the universal saving will of God. The gospel must be proclaimed in all the world, especially among the Muslim peoples. But they were also aware of the dangers, and no action was taken.[48]

Against this backdrop of early Protestant thinking, the expectation of mass Turkish conversions, typical of Bröske and other Pietists, appears highly innovative. Their contrasting views of "the Turk" represent one more notable point of difference between the Reformation and Pietist paradigms.

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[42] Ibid., pp. 130f, and John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion, Bk. II*, John T. McNeill, ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), p. 348.
[43] Slomp, "Calvin and the Turks," p. 136.
[44] Ibid., pp. 133f.
[45] Ibid., pp. 127, 132, 135f.
[46] Ibid., pp. 130, 132.
[47] Ibid., p. 137.
[48] Pfister, "Reformation, Türken und Islam," pp. 367–369.

Conrad Bröske's Sunday Morning Sermon: "The Conversion of the Heathen"

Bröske began his Sunday morning sermon on October 21st, 1694 by reading the Scripture text, Matthew 8:11: "Many will come from east and west and will sit with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven." This passage comes after the story of the Roman centurion who, having asked Jesus to heal his servant, confessed his unworthiness to receive Jesus into his home, and suggested Jesus exercise his authority to heal by simply speaking a word. Jesus was amazed at the man's faith, and exclaimed, "…nowhere in Israel have I found such faith. I tell you, many will come from east and west…" Jesus used the example of the centurion's faith as the occasion to proclaim prophetically the future conversion of the heathen.[49]

Bröske derived two main points from this text: a great conversion of the heathen was yet to be expected (pp. 14–38); and the converted heathen will have an equal share in the blessedness of heaven alongside the patriarchs and prophets (pp. 39–51). On the first point, Bröske determined that the conversion of the heathen referred to by Jesus had a twofold fulfillment, one in the first century, and another in the last days. The "first conversion" (pp. 14–19) had been prophesied by the patriarchs Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the prophet Zachariah. Paul and Barnabas represented the first century fulfillment of this when they proclaimed that since Israel had not received God's word, they would direct their preaching to the Gentiles. This first century fulfillment was clear from events in the book of Acts and from the letters of Paul addressed to churches comprised of heathen converts, including his letters to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, and the Colossians. However, Bröske added, "when we look at the Word of God further…concerning this conversion of the heathen, the Spirit of God does not let us leave it at that but mentions still a second."[50] There is a "second conversion" for which believers must still wait and hope in the last days. Bröske was convinced that it had not yet arrived because the signs of the last days had not yet appeared.

[49] Conrad Bröske, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden*, p. 9.
[50] Ibid., p. 19.

There were signs that would indicate precisely when this second conversion of the heathen would come to pass. First, there was a *general sign* by which one could determine "when it has not yet come and afterward when it has, as well as how near and how far it is."[51] This sign was found in Matthew 24:6, 14 where Jesus said:

> You will hear of wars and rumours of wars, but do not fear; this must all happen, but it is not yet the end…And the gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world, as a testimony to all people and then the end will come.

There was also a *special sign* that indicated the precise time of its arrival. This was found in the book of Revelation 10:7 and 11:15–17, 28f. and 14:6,7.

> …in the days when the seventh angel is to blow his trumpet, the mystery of God will be fulfilled as he announced to his servants the prophets…The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Messiah, and he will reign forever and ever.
>
> I saw another angel flying in mid-heaven, with an eternal gospel to proclaim to those who live on the earth—to every nation and tribe and language and people.

Bröske was confident that this proclamation to every nation and tribe and language and people was the same as the gospel of the kingdom that Jesus had spoken of in Matthew 24.[52] It was also clear to Bröske that these events were near.

> If we, according to the reckoning of distinguished and learned people, are so near to the end of the sixth trumpet that the seventh should be sounding its note *within a few years*, and if the calling of the heathen falls at the beginning of the seventh trumpet, then this prepared for salvation of the heathen of which we speak is *not far off*.[53] (italics mine)

By such logic, Bröske was convinced that this great event must indeed be yet to come, and soon to come. For modern skeptical readers, the "soon to come" conviction seems most radical, but his fellow Protestants would have found the idea of yet unfulfilled prophecy to be equally so. Luther and the orthodox expected the imminent return of Christ to

[51] Ibid., pp. 34f.
[52] Ibid., pp. 36–38.
[53] Ibid., p. 38.

usher in the last judgment and eternity, with no mention of a coming millennium or conversion of the heathen.

Bröske derived a *second point* from Matthew 8:11: the converted heathen will have an equal share in the blessedness of heaven alongside the patriarchs and prophets (pp. 39–51). The image of the heathen sitting at the heavenly banquet table with the patriarchs is Jesus' way of saying that they will enjoy "all the pleasures of the future glory in the kingdom of God."[54] Bröske concluded:

> When a Turkish girl, a person who from birth was left in the darkness and shadows of death, without any light of the gospel, having begun to lay a foundation in all manner of crude Mohammedan errors, when she converts to Christian faith and today publicly among us wants to give an account of her faith, and to partake both in the sacrament of holy baptism as well as, at first opportunity, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as signs and seals, we must not look upon this as a matter that has happened by accident.[55]

These events confirm to all that God is doing a new work in their day. Bröske reminded his readers that they shared in this same hope of salvation and that they, in their forefathers, were also descended from heathen.[56]

The Baptism of a Turkish Servant Girl in the Ysenburg Court

The baptism was held on Sunday afternoon, October 21st, 1694 at the Reformed Church in Offenbach. The main participants included the two preachers, the Turkish girl and some witnesses. We know that Countess Charlotte Friderica[57] had offered to serve as one of the witnesses

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[54] Ibid., pp. 50f. "Wer sieht nicht auß allen angeführten Beyspielen daß Essen und Trincken das allerbequemste Sinnbild mit ist dadurch uns alles Vergnügen der zukünfftigen Herrlichkeit in dem Reiche Gottes vorgemahlet wird?… Hierauß folget nun von selbsten; weilen viele Heyden vom Morgen und vom Abend sollen kommen und im Himmelreiche zu Tische sitzen, daß ihnen Alles Heyl und Seligkeit mit hin versprochen seye wie allen übrigen Knechten und Propheten."

[55] Ibid., p. 51.

[56] Ibid., p. 55. "Dann wir wissen, daß wir, die wir in unsern Vorfahren auch von Heyden herkommen und nunmehr so nahe zum heyl getreten seynd, mit Abraham, Isaac und Jakob im Himmelreiche werden zu Tische sitzen."

[57] She was probably the aunt or the sister of the Countess Charlotte Amalie, under whom the Turkish girl served. Charlotte Friderica, like Charlotte Amalie, was born "Pfalß-Gräfin bey Rhein, Hertzogin in Bayern, zu Gulch, Cleve und Berg, Gräfin zu Veldenz-Sponheim, der Marck und Ravenspurg, Frauen zu Ravenstein, und deß

(*Tauff-Zeuge*) at the baptism, but due to circumstances was unable to attend and so was represented by the Countess Ferdinande of Seyn and Wittgenstein.[58] The service had two main parts: first, the liturgy of the Word, comprised of singing Psalms, reading of Scripture and a sermon, the main elements of Reformed worship; second, the baptism service, including the questioning of the girl and the witnesses and the actual baptism. This order followed Calvin's prescription that baptisms should take place "in the Sunday afternoon service or in a weekday service after the sermon."[59]

The Liturgy of the Word

Johann Christoph Bröske's account explains that "in the afternoon, at the last call of the church bells, the candidate for baptism, dressed properly and in black, without any show, was accompanied from the castle to the church by two virgins, followed closely by the witnesses to the baptism who were not of noble station."[60] At the church, "the baptismal candidate and her attendants stood for the singing [of] the 87th Psalm":

> Glorious things of you are spoken, O city of God. I will record Egypt and Babylon among those who know me—Philistia and Tyre along with Ethiopia—and will say, "This one was born in Zion." The Lord will write in the register of the peoples: "This one was born in Zion."

Johann Christoph Bröske then preached from Acts 8:36–38 on "Baptism of the Moors." The text reads:

> The chamberlain [from Ethiopia] said, "See, here is water. What hinders me from being baptized?" Philipp said, "Do you believe with all your heart?" He answered and said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God." And he called for the chariot to stop and they climbed down into the water, both Philipp and the chamberlain, and he baptized him.[61]

Bröske noted the passage's appropriateness for the occasion of the Turkish girl's baptism.

Herzogthums Zwybrücken Administratorin." See Conrad Bröske, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden*, p. 3.

[58] Ibid., pp. 3f.

[59] W. de Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide*, tr. Lyle D. Bierma (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), p. 130.

[60] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, p. 99.

[61] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Moren-Tauffe*, p. 56.

> This noteworthy story we wish to put before us… because of the present occasion provided by the person brought here from Turkey, who likewise was enlightened and comforted by the light of Jesus Christ in his truth, so that now she also is considered capable and worthy of receiving holy baptism and being received into the church of Jesus Christ.[62]

The preacher highlighted the eschatological significance of the text in words that would become a constant refrain throughout the service.

> This chamberlain from the land of the Moors was illumined and taught by the clear and joyous rays of sun-light of Jesus Christ while on his way, thanks to the ministry of the apostle. He was just the first one and the first-fruits of a fruitful harvest that will follow among his nation thanks to the grace of this light…[63]

Johann Christoph Bröske's four-part sermon on baptism of the Moors, *Die Moren-Tauffe*, is over forty pages in the printed edition—almost as long as Conrad Bröske's morning sermon. The four main points follow the elements of the Biblical text.

I. The chamberlain asked, "See here is water. What prevents me from being baptized?" (pp. 65–69)

II. The apostle posed a counter-question to the chamberlain: "Do you believe from your whole heart?" (cf. pp. 69–73)

In language that echoes Luther, Bröske reflected, "The Apostle speaks not of a historical faith or a faith in the miraculous, but of true godly faith… from a whole heart."[64] In typical Reformed fashion, Bröske characterized true faith in terms of three things: *knowledge* of the truth which leads to godliness; *a desire to retain* what one has heard and learned from God's word; and a heart-felt *trust* grounded firmly and solely on the grace of God in Christ Jesus.[65]

III. Thirdly, there followed the chamberlain's confession of faith: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God." (pp. 73–76)

IV. Finally, there followed the baptism: "And he commanded the chariot to stop," etc. (pp. 76–92)

Johann Christoph Bröske's Reformed Pietist thinking on the sacrament of baptism reflected Calvin's mediating approach to the fine

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[62] Ibid., p. 59.
[63] Ibid., p. 58.
[64] "…nicht von dem historischen Glauben, nicht von dem Zeit-oder Wunder-Glauben, sondern von dem waren seeligmachenden Glauben…" See Ibid., p. 69.
[65] Ibid., pp. 69f.

points of baptismal observance. Bröske observed that in the Acts 8 account, Philipp

> immersed [*tunkte*] him under the water, for that is the meaning of the word *baptize*. This was the way of baptizing in the early church; they immersed the body of the person completely under the water, or at least they sprinkled the whole body with water. Among us the practice is that the minister pours water only on the head of the person being baptized. But as the learned Calvin noted, ceremonies are not of such importance that they should cause great squabbling and dissension in the church…[66]

In a post-Thirty-Years War climate, the Pietists embraced with enthusiasm Calvin's desire to avoid divisions over comparatively minor confessional differences relating to church ceremonies.

Johann Christoph Bröske reflected on the doctrinal implications of the fourth point, the baptism. He found two lessons [*zwey Lehren*], an eschatological lesson for the future and a moral lesson for the present. Reflecting his Philadelphian eschatological perspective, Bröske observed that in apostolic times the free grace of God had extended to many outside of Israel;[67] now another great outpouring of salvation was on the horizon.

> After the time of Christ…a great part both of Jews and heathen remained sitting in darkness and in the shadows of death…But this mischief and devastation will not last forever. For the time will come when the free grace of the gracious God will bring a host of Jews and heathen into the church of Jesus Christ before the last day of judgment…We in this place have much for which to thank God…especially that we have lived to see that some from foreign lands have been brought into this our church of the Lord Jesus Christ by the free grace of God.[68]

By way of a moral lesson, Bröske warned his hearers that there are many "so-called Christians" [*so genante Christen*] who have been outwardly baptized, but with no effect. A true Christian [*ein wahrer Christ*] is one "whose heart has been renewed by the blood and spirit of Jesus Christ unto a true, holy and new obedience."[69] Earlier in the sermon he admonished with the same tone:

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[66] Ibid., p. 77. "…welches aber Ceremonien seyn nicht von solcher Wichtigkeit, wie der gelehrte Calvinus anmerket, daß sie grosses Gezänk und Zwiespalt in der Kirchen anrichten solten."

[67] Ibid., pp. 78–80.

[68] Ibid., p. 81f.

[69] Ibid., p. 96.

> Do you think that because you are called Christians, Evangelical and Reformed Christians, because you are baptized in the name of the triune God, that this will protect you in the judgment day? Do you not have an example of God's wrath before you in the Jews? Indeed, do you not have recently a sad example when so many flourishing churches in France, in the Pfalz and in other places are shaken?[70]

He concluded on a passionate note:

> If only the many so-called Christians [*viele so genante Christen*] would take this to heart… You sinners consider what a shame it is to be called Christians and to be without Christ, to be baptized and yet to wander in sins.[71]

An end-times sense of immediacy was present in his plea.

The sermon was followed by a prayer. After further singing the court preacher Conrad Bröske "moved to the lectern and addressed the whole congregation" in what was really a mini-sermon.[72] Conrad Bröske called to mind two points that he had made in his sermon earlier that morning. First, pointing to the girl to be baptized, he affirmed that it was only by God's special providence (*durch Gottes sonderbare Vorsehung*) that she was present before them that day as a reminder that they lived in special times. Four years earlier a boy from Turkey had likewise been baptized upon his confession of faith and admitted to the Lord's Supper. These two, said Bröske, were part of a large host of converts to the Christian faith in recent times: "in such a time and in such years… not only a few hundred but many thousands of Turks and unbelieving peoples have been brought into Christendom, and most of these have not refused to confess the name of the Lord Jesus but have sought quickly to do so."[73] To drive home his point Bröske wagered that none in his audience, no matter how old, could ever recall seeing events such as they were now witnessing. Indeed, he doubted that anyone had ever read about events that could equal these in the annals and stories composed

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[70] Ibid., p. 86.

[71] Ibid., pp. 96f.

[72] "…trat der Hof-Prediger unter wehrendem Gesänge bey den Tisch und hielt nach geendigtem diesem Gesänge an die gantze Versamlung folgende Rede…" Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, pp. 100–105.

[73] "…zu einer solchen Zeit und in solchen Jahren…in welchen nicht nur etliche hundert sondern so viel tausende von Türcken und unglaubigen Völckern in die Christenheit gebracht und meistens den Namen deß Herrn Jesu zu bekennen sich nicht geweigert sondern embsig gesucht haben." Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, p. 102.

by their Christian ancestors.[74] Here we sense something of the impact in a small German territory of the Habsburg re-conquest of Hungary and eastern Europe, and the eschatological message Pietists derived from these events.

Bröske introduced his second point with a question: "Can anyone stand in doubt as to whether these thousands . . . belong to the first calling of the heathen, or whether they must not be considered the prelude to the future and succeeding great conversion?"[75] Bröske was convinced that the baptism of the Turkish girl that day was not just another development in the varying fortunes of the church's experience in past centuries; rather, it was a sign that a new era was dawning, marked by mass conversions, the like of which the church had never before seen.

The Service of Baptism

Conrad Bröske then moved to the main business of the day. He explained the procedure to be followed: the girl would be asked to provide "a public account of her faith in the promise of God in Christ Jesus." After this there would be a congregational decision as to whether to accept her for baptism or not. "We wish to leave each person free to give his judgment as to whether he consider her worthy or unworthy."[76] This procedure for baptizing an adult Turk had been anticipated by John Calvin when he reflected upon the importance of the adult convert's confession of faith before baptism:

> Those who embrace faith in Christ when fully grown, since they were previously strangers to the covenant, are not to be given the badge of baptism unless they first have faith and repentance, which alone can give access to the society of the covenant . . . To this should be referred the Evangelist's statement that those who confessed their sins were baptized by John [Matt. 3:6]. We think that this example ought to be observed today. For if a Turk should offer himself for baptism, we could not easily baptize him unless he gave a confession satisfactory to the church.[77]

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[74] Ibid., pp. 102f. "Ich frage einen jeden unter euch ob zu unsern Zeiten es seye auch jemand so alt als er wolle dergleichen gesehen? Ich gehe noch weiter und frage ob jemand in denen von unsern Vorfahren beschriebenen Geschichten ein gleiches gelesen?"

[75] Ibid., p. 103.

[76] Ibid., pp. 103, 104.

[77] See Book IV of the *1559 Institutes*. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion, Bk.*

In the Offenbach baptism service the Bröskes followed Calvin's advice precisely.

Conrad Bröske explained that due to time constraints he would not examine the girl by moving question by question through the *Heidelberg Catechism*.[78] He assured the congregation that she had memorized the whole catechism "along with the accompanying proof texts from beginning to end"[79] under the "Christian and motherly care" and instruction of the Countess. The court preacher then turned to the girl and addressed her: "It is now required of you, before you are baptized in this public assembly, that you give an account of your faith in the promise of God." Bröske's questions ranged widely over the articles of the Reformed faith.

> . . . the girl was questioned for about an hour, not with the words of the *Catechism* or questions learned from memory, but with all kinds of important questions that occurred to the court preacher concerning the whole condition of humanity before and after the fall, both under the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. She answered these in a way that was clear, complete and proper, and in only one instance gave a wrong answer.[80]

This portion of the service closely resembles the Reformed confirmation service as described by Calvin.

> Confirmation [should be] . . . a catechizing, in which children or those near adolescence would give an account of their faith before the church. But the best method of catechizing would be to have a manual drafted for

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IV, ed. John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), p. 1347. Calvin introduced the Turk as the most extreme example he could imagine of an unbelieving "stranger to the covenant."

[78] The *Heidelberg Catechism* has been described as "a warm, personal, generally non-polemical and ecumenical confession of evangelical faith, representing a moderate Calvinism (there is no doctrine of double predestination) that appeals to the heart as well as to the mind . . ." See Shirley C. Guthrie, "Heidelberg Catechism," *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), p. 167. These features would appeal to the Philadelphian spirit of Conrad Bröske.

[79] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, p. 104. As the common confession of Reformed churches in Germany the *Heidelberg Catechism* would have been memorized by all confirmation candidates. As Court Preacher, Conrad Bröske instructed young children in the *Catechism* as well as preaching publicly from it year by year to his congregation in Offenbach. Bröske published an explanation of the *Heidelberg Catechism* that went through four editions and was used as a model by churches in other regions. See Conrad Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede wider die von einigen zu der Elberfeldischen Classe gehörigen Herrn Prediger, ohne sein Verschulden hinter ihm her mit Unrecht ausgestreuete Schmachreden*. (Offenbach: de Launoy, 12. März 1705), p. 14.

[80] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, p. 105.

> this exercise, containing and summarizing in a simple manner most of the articles of our religion…A child would present himself to the church to declare his confession of faith, would be examined in each article, and give an answer to each…Thus, while the church looks on as a witness, he would profess the one true and sincere faith…[81]

Bröske borrowed these elements from the confirmation service and put them to use in the service of adult baptism.

After the period of questioning, Bröske addressed the whole gathering and requested that those who knew her give their judgment of her "life and deeds."

> You have doubtless listened to the confession of faith of this girl with pleasure. But because it is not enough that someone can say Lord, Lord, but must fulfill the will of God in deed, so now it is time for all of you to judge of her life and deeds, as the fruit from which the tree is known…And if no one here is opposed, we take it as unanimously agreed that there is no hindrance present and we can grant her request [for baptism].[82]

The congregation then sang another Psalm, the 117th: "Praise the Lord, all you nations! Extol him, all you peoples!" Johann Christoph Bröske editorialized at this point in the account. He said that things were being delayed with so much singing because the godparents of the girl, certain noble persons and government officials and their wives, were still arriving at the service.[83] The examination continued with Bröske addressing the witnesses to the baptism. He asked them if they would promise to care for the girl and oversee her growth in faith. "Is that your will and desire…?" They answered, "yes."[84]

Conrad Bröske turned again to the girl and asked a question that anticipated the possibility of her someday being reunited with her family: "Do you think that you have the freedom to renounce or at least

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[81] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion, Bk. IV*, ed. John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), p. 1461. Denis Janz comments: "In the early church, Calvin believed, confirmation was first and foremost an examination on the basics of the faith, and this is what it should be now. Its corruption at the hands of the Roman Church was regrettable, particularly because this tradition attributed some of the effects of baptism to confirmation and thus diminished baptism. It was Calvin's teaching above all that prevailed in the Reformed tradition." See Denis R. Janz, "Confirmation," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation, vol. 1* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 405f.

[82] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, p. 106.

[83] Ibid., p. 107.

[84] Ibid., pp. 107–109.

forsake these truths that you have acknowledged and confessed?" She gave the expected reply:

> No. For I well know what my Saviour says: "The one who denies me before men will I also deny before my heavenly Father…" and also: "The one who loves house, brothers, sisters, father and mother more than me, he is not worthy of me."[85]

The church and pastors evidently sought assurances from her that this was not a conversion of convenience. The candidate was then asked to give her confession by reciting a statement of "the old, not-to-be-doubted Christian faith" which qualified her for baptism: the Apostles' Creed.[86] Since it was almost nightfall, the account noted, they hurried things along. A prayer was said, asking that the baptism be for her "the sign and seal and certain assurance of her washing from sin by the blood of Christ and by the Holy Spirit."[87]

Then the baptism was performed. The girl, who till now was named "Etsch," was given the names "Charlotte Philippine," receiving one of the names of the Countess, Charlotte Amalie, and a variation on one of the Count's names, Johann Philipp. There followed a prayer for strength for the baptized and the whole assembly, followed by a public prayer of thanks. Finally, the blessing of the Lord was spoken over the baptized girl and the whole Christian assembly.[88] At the service's conclusion, "she was taken from the church to the court in the order in which the baptismal candidate had been accompanied to the church, and was wished well with every Christian blessing."[89]

The girl's public confession of faith resulted not only in her baptism but also in her admission to the Lord's Table. The date for her first communion was about a month and a half later, December 4th, due to the Reformed practice of only celebrating the Lord's Supper once a quarter.[90]

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[85] Ibid., p. 109.

[86] Ibid., p. 110. "Demnach muste die zu Tauffende eine Bekäntnüß deß alten ungezweiffelten Christlichen Glaubens ablegen, darauff sie wolte und solte getaufft werden, in folgenden Worten: Ich glaube an Gott Vatter, u.s.w."

[87] Ibid., p. 111. Calvin called baptism "a token and proof of our cleansing." See John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion, Bk. IV*, p. 1304.

[88] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, pp. 111f. A blessing was included in Calvin's confirmation service. "This laying on of hands, which is done simply by way of benediction, I commend, and would like to see restored to its pure use in the present day." *Institutes of the Christian Religion, Book IV*, sec. 19, par. 4–13.

[89] Johann Christoph Bröske, *Die Erzehlung*, p. 112.

[90] Conrad Bröske, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden*, pp. 5f.

Conclusion

Luther departed from medieval Catholic views of the Turk in rejecting calls for crusade. For Luther, war against the Turk was a secular matter to be justified by rules of just war and pursued only in self-defence. At the end of his life Luther was filled with an increasing sense of apocalyptic foreboding. He had lost hope for the successful preaching of the gospel in the world, and looked only for the last day.[91] Calvin saw the Turks as beyond the reach of the Gospel. They are "apostates, alienated from true religion," for "Satan has deceived them."[92] Up until the seventeenth century, the dominant Protestant image of the Turk was the one inherited from Luther. The Turk was the instrument of God's vengeance, and the arch-enemy of all Christians. Only at the last judgment was victory over the Turk and the forces of evil assured.

With Bröske and the Philadelphians the Turk was a potential convert, the object of God's abundant grace at the dawn of Christ's millennial kingdom. Based on the Scripture text Matthew 8:11, "Many will come from east and west and will sit with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven," Bröske saw successful mission to the "heathen" as a sure sign of the dawning Philadelphian church age. This age would soon supersede the Sardic age of Reformation Protestantism for whom the Turk remained an abiding threat.

Bröske's views on the eschatological significance of the conversion and baptism of a young Turkish servant girl in 1694 should be seen in relation to the newly secured political situation in eastern Europe under the Habsburgs. The recently changed political scene made it possible for Bröske to include the Turks in his vision of last days revival and conversion. The Habsburg victories over the Ottomans were no distant reality for Bröske, for they resulted in Turkish young people being brought from Hungary to serve in the Ysenburg court. Bröske's prince, Count Johann Philipp, was noteworthy for his tolerance of cultural and religious differences. This cross-cultural reality in Offenbach was a formative component in Bröske's thinking and outlook.

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[91] Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, pp. 112–114.
[92] Slomp, "Calvin and the Turks," p. 137.

CHAPTER SIX

CONRAD BRÖSKE, THOMAS BEVERLEY AND THE COMING MILLENNIAL KINGDOM

Twelve of Conrad Bröske's works explicitly treat eschatological themes, including his longest and most ambitious piece, *Die Acht Unterredungen* (The Eight Dialogues), the subject of the next chapter. Up to 1700, all but two of Bröske's writings discuss chiliasm (millennialism) and eschatology. Bröske believed he possessed the key to Biblical prophecy and should share this knowledge for the benefit of others. The words *Schlüssel* (Key), *Muster* (Pattern), *Erklärung* (clarification) and *Zeit-Register* (Time-line) appear and re-appear in the titles of these works. Bröske's chiliastic writings brings us to the heart of the man and his complex piety of renewal. They offer a valuable window into the circumstances, themes and development of Bröske's Philadelphian millennialist thought. To highlight his departure from earlier Protestant teaching on the last days, it is important to consider first the eschatology of some sixteenth century reformers and the gradual rise of Protestant millennial thinking.

Martin Luther and John Calvin on the End of History; Seventeenth-Century Calvinist Millennialism

Apocalypticism refers to the conviction that a dramatic upheaval and transformation of the world are imminent. It sees world history as a drama in which good must ultimately triumph over evil, and views the present as a crisis period in which this drama is playing out its final act. For the magisterial reformers this crisis culminates in final judgment; for millennialists, or chiliasts, it ushers in the thousand year kingdom of Christ upon earth.[1] Scholars have come to see that the apocalyptic mind-set was a prominent feature of sixteenth century reformation thought and culture, and not just confined to the radicals. First generation

[1] Robin Barnes, "Apocalypticism," in Hans Hillerbrand, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation, Volume 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 63.

reformers found the Bible's apocalyptic imagery useful in their polemics with the Catholics. Michael Stifel, a friend of Luther's in a village near Wittenberg, preached that he expected the world's end and the final judgment on October 19, 1533 at 8 a.m.[2]

Among the magisterial reformers, Luther demonstrated the strongest apocalyptic interest and mindset. Luther set the tone for his age with his vigorous proclamation of the soon-coming last judgment. "Luther helped to produce in sixteenth century Germany a level of apocalyptic expectation that finds few parallels in Western history."[3] After 1530 two features of Luther's apocalyptic mindset become evident. First, he had a passion to connect the Antichrist and other figures in John's Revelation with specific persons and institutions of his day. This led him, for example, to denounce the papal church as the synagogue of Satan in Rome and to view himself and other reformers as the angelic witnesses of Revelation.[4] Luther wrote, "O pontiffs! O princes, not of the catholic churches, but of the synagogues of Satan [Rev. 2:9] and of darkness itself!"[5] In response to those who believed that the Pope and his bishops, with all their flaws, still constituted the body of Christ and were not "the devil and his synagogue" referred to in Revelation 2:9, Luther wrote:

> Verily, they are members of the church, just as spittle, snot, pus, sweat, excrement, urine, stench, mange, small-pox, boils, syphilis, and all diseases are members of the body. They are in and on the body, like blemishes and filth, which the body must bear with great danger, trouble and unwillingness.[6]

Second, there was a "calendarizing" tendency in Luther[7] that led him to postulate the imminent end of the world in an effort to see his day in

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[2] Barnes, "Apocalypticism," pp. 63–68.

[3] Robin B. Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 3.

[4] Gottfried Seebaß, "The Importance of Apocalyptic for the History of Protestantism," *Colloquium: The Australian and New Zealand Theological Review*, 13, #1 (October 1980), p. 26. Seebaß noted that Luther saw himself as a tool of God in exposing Antichrist and "permitted his followers…to designate him as the Elijah of the end of history or…the angel with the eternal gospel (Rev. 14:6)."

[5] Abdel Ross Wentz, ed., *Luther's Works, Vol. 36* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), p. 115.

[6] Jaroslav Pelikan, ed., *Luther's Works, Vol. 14* (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1958), p. 93.

[7] Walter Klaassen, *Living at the End of the Ages* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1992), pp. 23–25. Following Vernard Eller, Klaassen called those who do endtime calculations, "calendarizers." Klaassen noted that Luther made "not a few attempts at calendarizing." "The most prominent man of the age concerned himself in detail with the events and the date of the End."

relation to the whole of history.[8] "The most prominent man of the age concerned himself in detail with the events and the date of the end." He found in the book of Revelation "the story of the church's history from beginning to end."[9] Believing the world would last 6,000 years, he combined figures to estimate that 5,500 years had already elapsed; and "in view of the fact that the last times were shortened according to Matt. 24:22, the end of the world was imminent."[10]

What one does *not* find in Luther is millenarianism, despite his interest in history and apocalyptic symbolism. One scholar has suggested that Luther's eschatology follows a dialectic that resembles his notion of *simul justus et peccator*, the individual Christian's experience as "both righteous and sinner." On the macrocosmic level, the millennial age of Christ's rule and victory over evil is likewise both present and yet not present. Christ's is a spiritual kingdom, not of this world, and will not be fully realized until the end of time.[11]

The apocalyptic mindset is much less evident in John Calvin. Calvin also used the language of Revelation to describe the Pope as Antichrist, and saw the prophecies in 2 Thessalonians and Revelation fulfilled in the Roman Papacy.[12] But rather than interpreting Enoch and Elijah as prophetic figures who would return at the end of history, Calvin saw them as examples of Christian ministry in the Church. Christ was the last prophet; any other gift or office of prophecy was excluded. Christian ministers served in Christ's name. Teaching became the accepted expression of prophecy at the Genevan Academy. In commenting on Hebrews 11:5, Calvin wrote:

> It is better to pass over the subtle questions with which curious men harass themselves. They ask what became of these two men, Enoch and Elijah. In case they may seem to ask empty questions, they prophesy that they are kept for the final day of the church so as to be displayed to the world suddenly at that time. The Apocalypse of John is cited in support of this. Let us leave this airy philosophy to those with small intellects who cannot find a firm foundation.[13]

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[8] Seebaß, "The Importance of Apocalyptic," p. 28.

[9] Klaassen, *Living at the End of the Ages*, pp. 25, 28.

[10] Seebaß, "The Importance of Apocalyptic," p. 28.

[11] Rodney L. Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days: The Theme of 'Two Witnesses' in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 239.

[12] Jaroslav Pelikan, "Some Uses of Apocalypse in the Magisterial Reformers," in C.A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, ed., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1984/ Manchester: Manchester University, 1984), pp. 86f.

[13] Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days*, pp. 155f.

Calvin believed that Luther's ministry resembled Elijah's, but never called him the last Elijah.

Calvin published the first edition of the *Institutes* in 1536, with the Münster debacle still fresh in people's memories. In contrast to the millenarian tendencies evident in Anabaptism, Calvin and fellow Reformed leaders, such as Bucer and Bullinger, taught that the millennium was the period between Christ's first and second comings—the present age of history. The next events in God's calendar were the resurrection and last judgment. In the 1539 edition of the *Institutes*, Calvin inserted sections refuting Anabaptist views on the relations between the Old and New Testaments and also refuting millennialism.[14]

For about a century after Luther and Calvin, millennialism continued to be viewed as heresy among the vast majority of Protestants. Both the 1530 *Augsburg Confession*, Art. 17, 5 and the 1566 *Helvetic Consensus Posterior*, Art. 26 condemn millennialism of any kind. They teach that Christ will return soon to defeat the Antichrist, to preside over the last judgment and then to usher in the eternal kingdom. These confessions dismiss as carnal the idea of an earthly reign of Christ.[15] The *Augsburg Confession*, for example, condemned those who "are now spreading Jewish opinions to the effect that before the resurrection of the dead the godly will take possession of the kingdom of the world."[16] Chiliastic

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[14] Ibid., pp. 159, 239f. See also Francois Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, Tr. Philip Mairet (London: Collins, 1963), p. 114.

[15] Richard Bauckham writes: "Der Protestantismus des 16. Jh. war trotz seiner starken Durchdringung mit apokalyptischem Gedankengut (cf. Apokalyptik/Apokalypsen) und einer allgemeinen Überzeugung, in der Endzeit zu leben, dem Chiliasmus weitgehend abhold. Man erwartete gewöhnlich, daß Christus in Bälde wiederkehren werde, um die Macht des Antichrist (des Papsttums) zu brechen und sein Volk zu erlösen, meinte aber, dieses Ereignis werde sogleich zum Jüngsten Gericht, zum Untergang der Welt und zum Anbruch der Ewigkeit führen. Dagegen fehlt die Vorstellung von einer Herrschaft Christi auf Erden. Diese wurde vielmehr sowohl im *Augsburger Bekenntnis (1530; Art. 17,5) als auch in den 42 Artikeln der Kirche von England (1552; Art. 41)* und in der *Confessio Helvetica Posterior (Art. 26)* verurteilt…Die Eschatologie des frühen Protestantismus war ebenso strikt außer-weltlich wie der Großteil der mittelalterlichen Eschatologie." Richard Bauckham, "Chiliasmus IV, Reformation und Neuzeit," in Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller, ed. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Band VII* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), pp. 738, 739.

[16] *Augsburg Confession*, Art. 17,5. See *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), p. 72. Philipp Melanchthon, author of the *Augsburg Confession*, expressed his views further on eschatological issues in his six page "Vorrede" to Zacharias Engelhaupt's *Apocalypsis: Der Offenbarüng Künfftiger Geschicht Johannis…Auslegung* (1561).

hopes had no place among Lutherans prior to the early seventeenth century, nor did they in Calvinism before this time.[17]

Seventeenth century Calvinism, however, provided fertile ground for innovative interpretations of Revelation and early millenarian ideas. This is evident in commentators such as the Heidelberg professor David Pereus (d. 1622) and Johann Heinrich Alsted of Herborn (1588–1638).[18] Several factors help to account for this development. First, Reformed believers were dispersed throughout Europe and so were more attracted than other confessions to the vision of Christian unity and peace found in Revelation. Second, with growing interest in historiography and world history, there was a tendency to want to align it with events described in the book of Revelation. Third, the polemical literature of the age tended to draw upon Revelation as a source of metaphors for criticism of Roman Catholicism. These metaphors generally had apocalyptic overtones. Finally, as Calvinist Protestants gained political power in England and in the American colonies, they became interested in the subject of Christ's kingdom and rule and how it might be established in earthly society.[19]

The 1627 *Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis* (Diatribe concerning the Apocalyptic One Thousand Years) by Johann Heinrich Alsted of Herborn represents "the first work by a mainstream Protestant theologian exclusively dedicated to defending the doctrine of a future millennium."[20] Howard Hotson observed:

> During the second quarter of the seventeenth century the status of millenarianism changed from an error almost universally condemned within the established Protestant churches to a doctrine supported by an impressive company of leading Protestant thinkers and actors exercising considerable influence over a wide variety of political and intellectual developments…In the early seventeenth century millenarianism revived seemingly spontaneously among a range of respected Reformed theologians in Germany and England…From the mid-seventeenth century

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[17] "Bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts chiliastische Hoffnungen keine Rolle im Luthertum gespielt haben." Johannes Wallmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995), p. 113.

[18] Robin Barnes, "Images of Hope and Despair: Western Apocalypticism: ca. 1500–1800," in Bernard McGinn, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Volume 2, Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture* (New York: Continuum, 1998), pp. 157f.

[19] Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days*, pp. 240f.

[20] Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), pp. ix, 4.

> onwards, millenarianism has never ceased to manifest its attraction to a wide range of Protestant groups…[21]

The disaster of the Thirty Years War forced Alsted to postpone his hopes of an imminent golden age and to reframe them in terms of a millennium that would begin, not end, in 1694. Inspired by Johannes Piscator, Alsted taught a biblically-based millenarianism that "helped launch a new millenarian tradition" within mainstream Protestantism.[22] Alsted's *Diatribe* was translated into English in 1643 as *The Beloved City*, and had a great impact among English millenarians.[23]

Hotson argued convincingly that biblicism and biblical literalism alone cannot account for the appearance of Alsted's millennial novelty. Rather, it was a variety of astrological, alchemical and hermetic or occult texts, especially the work of Christoph Besold (1577–1638), that inspired Alsted's vision of an imminent golden age. Many of Alsted's hermeticist contacts lived in Marburg thanks to the alchemical patronage of the Landgrave of Hesse, Moritz the Learned.[24] This Marburg circle included Rudolph Goclenius the Younger (1572–1621), Michael Sendivogius (1566–1636), Johannes Hartmann (1561–1631), Oswald Croll (1560–1609), Michael Maier (1569–1622) and Raphael Egli (1559–1622).[25] The hermetic philosophy promoted in the Kassel court consisted in "a whole perception of nature" rather than a textual tradition. Hartmann defined it as "theoretical and practical knowledge of alchemical secrets and insight into the preparation of useful medicines."[26] It has been argued that Moritz of Hesse turned to patronage

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[21] Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, p. 3.

[22] Ibid., pp. 153f., 173f.

[23] Robert Clouse, "Scholarship as Prophecy: The *Beloved City* of Johann Heinrich Alsted," in Robin Barnes et al. ed., *Habent sua fata libelli: Books have their own Destiny* (Kirksville, Mo.: Thomas Jefferson University, 1998), pp. 29, 37. See Johann Heinrich Alsted, *The Beloved City*, tr. William Burton (London, 1643).

[24] On the Landgrave's alchemical patronage see Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572–1632)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991).

[25] Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, pp. 53, 56. For more on Alsted's ties with Marburg's alchemical circle, see Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638): Between Renaissance, Reformation and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2000), pp. 50–65, 96–103. It seems unlikely that the Marburg hermeticist circle survived into Bröske's day, some fifty years later.

[26] Their vitalist cosmology was marked by "a combination of magical and alchemical traditions that allow for the presence of souls and intelligences within creation and that focus especially upon a universal natural spirit operating through a vast system of natural correspondences, sympathies and antipathies." See Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court*, pp. 7f.

of the occult arts in a desperate effort to find technical solutions that might help him control nature and achieve political survival in uncertain times.[27] The literature of the Marburg circle dried up when the princely patronage of the Landgrave of Hesse and Frederick the Elector Palatine came to an end.[28]

Especially prominent in the Marburg circle was Michael Maier, for some years physician to Landgrave Moritz and famous for his "brilliant expression of the themes of spiritual alchemy…combined with Lutheran piety."[29] Maier's best-known work is *Atalanta fugiens* (1617), a book of mystical and alchemical proverbs. It is comprised of fifty engravings of allegorical emblems accompanied by philosophical commentary and musical fugues.[30] Maier's influence lived on in England and Germany among English Philadelphians and German Pietists. Jane Leade shared Maier's interest in the spiritual implications of alchemical experiments.[31] Gottfried Arnold's *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzer Historie* (Impartial History of churches and sects) devoted a chapter to the Rosicrucians and made appreciative reference to "the famous Michael Maier" and his defence of alchemy.[32]

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[27] Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court*, pp. 171, 174–176.

[28] Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 118, 124, 136.

[29] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 97, 101, 110, 122. For more on Michael Maier, see: Yates, pp. 109–125; Joscelyn Godwin, "The Deepest of the Rosicrucians: Michael Maier (1569–1622)," in Ralph White, ed. *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment Revisited* (Herndon, VA: Lindisfarne Books; Blauvelt, NY: Rudolph Steiner Press, 1999), pp. 99–123; and Hereward Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix: Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the Work of Count Michael Maier (1569–1622)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003). For bibliographical material on Michael Maier's works and Maier scholarship see Karin Figala and Ulrich Neumann, "Michael Maier (1569–1622): New Bio-Bibliographical Material," in Z.R.W.M. von Martels, ed., *Alchemy Revisited: Proceedings of the International Conference on the History of Alchemy at the University of Groningen 17–19 April 1989* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), pp. 34–50; and Ulrich Neumann, "Maier, Michael," in Traugott Bautz, ed., *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon, Bd. V* (1993), pp. 562–564. (www.bautz.de/bbkl)

[30] *Atalanta fugiens, hoc est, Emblemata Nova de Secretis Naturae Chymica* (The Speeding Atlanta: New Chemical Emblems concerning the Secrets of Nature). See Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 110–115. Maier's book has been translated into English: Michael Maier, *Atalanta fugiens*, Joscelyn Godwin, tr. and ed. (Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1989).

[31] Leade's "Vision of the Glassy Globe" compared the alchemist's vessel to a womb, a world in microcosm, in which the transmutation of matter into the Philosopher's Stone could be performed. Maier also compared the alchemist's vessel to a globe and to mother nature. See Julie Hirst, *Jane Leade. Biography of a Seventeenth-Century Mystic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 47f.

[32] Gottfried Arnold, "Anderer Theil, Buch XVII, Capitel XVIII," *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie, Von Anfang des Neuen Testaments Biß auf das Jahr Christi 1688*

In the same year that Alsted's *Diatribe* appeared, Joseph Mede (1586–1638) of Christ's College, Cambridge, published his *Clavis apocalyptica* (Key to the Apocalypse). While Alsted was enduring the devastations of the Thirty Years War in his German homeland, Mede enjoyed "the relative tranquility" of his Cambridge college.[33] In agreement with Alsted, he taught that the resurrected saints would reign with Christ on earth during the millennium. Mede's consuming interest was chronology as he obsessively calculated the precise millennial timetable. He claimed to have discovered "the Law of Synchronistical necessity" that harmonized Daniel and Revelation, the key that opened up the meaning of biblical prophecy.[34] He calculated when the church had fallen, and then, on the basis of Revelation 11, verses 2 and 3, he added 1,260 prophetic "days" (years) to determine when the millennial age would begin. Mede believed he was living close to the end of the 1,260 years, in the age of the sixth trumpet. He taught that the conversion of the Jews was near and that it would be accompanied by the miraculous defeat of the Turks.[35]

Mede's *Key* was widely admired for its ingenuity and originality. A friend observed: "M. Mede hath many notions of so rare a nature that I do not find he is beholding to any other for them, but only to his own studiousness and dexterity, with the blessing of God upon his labours."[36] It is somewhat surprising, however, that a recent study of Mede largely concurs with this judgment. Jeffrey Jue argues that Mede's prophetic interpretations cannot be accounted for by political motivations or an "extra-biblical agenda."

> The origin of Mede's millenarianism was not found in the current events of the early seventeenth century, but it was derived from a rigorous exegetical method that sought to provide the most consistent interpretation for the prophetic visions of the Apocalypse. Mede acquiesced to what he observed as the internal uniformity of the Bible…Mede was convinced

(Franckfurt am Mayn: bey Thomas Fritschens, 1729; reprint ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1999), pp. 1114–1130, esp. 1125.

[33] Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, p. 14. For a recent study of Mede see Jeffrey K. Jue, *Heaven upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2006). See also Katherine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1654* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1979).

[34] Johannes Van Den Berg, *Religious Currents and Cross-Currents: Essays on Early Modern Protestantism and the Protestant Enlightenment*, Jan de Bruijn, Pieter Holtrop and Ernestine Van Der Wall, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 85f.

[35] Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days*, pp. 207–211.

[36] Jue, *Heaven upon Earth*, p. 107.

> that a series of synchronisms, which would precede the millennium, had yet to occur.[37]

Jue further minimizes the influence of neo-platonic cosmology upon Mede.[38] Nor does Jue acknowledge an influence from Jewish kabbalistic literature.[39] He does allow that Mede made use of Patristic writers and rabbinic Jewish scholarship, but always under the control of his own "originality." Such a conclusion, that Mede's millennialism was the sole result of disciplined biblical study, strikes the historian as unsatisfactory. Everyone, including Mede, reads the Bible in a concrete setting that colours his reading in ways that one may not be aware of. Such influencing factors still remain to be discovered in the case of Mede.

Mede's influence is evident among later millenarians, "American, continental as well as English, Scottish, and Irish, well into the nineteenth century."[40] Together, Alsted and Mede lent some respectability to the growing millenarian interest among seventeenth century Protestants.[41]

Bröske's Mentors in Chiliastic Thought: Thomas Beverley and Jane Leade

Conrad Bröske was profoundly shaped by Orthodox Reformed theology, evidenced by his education in Marburg and his educational travels. At some point, however, Bröske's thinking shifted from these strict norms. Thomas Beverley appears to have played the key role in this development. Max Goebel described Conrad Bröske as "a disciple of the English chiliast Thomas Beverley and a member of the Philadelphian society in London which was devoted to uniting all true Christians with each other."[42] An investigation of the thought and influence of

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 44. "Mede did not frame his world according to Plato, nor did he erect a grand cosmology based upon platonic ideas. In fact, platonic influence was cited as a fulfillment of prophecy found in a specific error within Roman Catholic theology."

[39] Ibid., pp. 132–137. Yet Bröske could cite a ten page passage from Mede in which Mede assembled the opinions of some Jewish kabbalistic writers on the subject of the Messiah and his coming kingdom. Conrad Bröske, *Ein Schlüssel über Herrn Beverleys Zeit-Register*, pp. 36–46.

[40] Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, p. 12.

[41] Van Den Berg, *Religious Currents and Cross-Currents*, pp. 85f.

[42] Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche. Bd. III, Die niederrheinische reformirte Kirche und der Separatismus in Wittgenstein und am Niederrhein im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Theodor Link, ed. (Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1860), p. 81.

Thomas Beverley, the prolific Congregational millennialist, and of Jane Leade, the founder of the Philadelphian Society, will go a long way to illuminating the prophetic turn in Bröske's mindset.

Thomas Beverley's Life and Literary Career

Warren Johnston's recent work demonstrates the persistence of apocalyptic convictions and language among Anglican and nonconformist writers in England into the 1690s. Both believed that the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and the rule of William and Mary, heralded the downfall of the papacy, the imminent fall of Rome (Babylon) and the destruction of the Antichrist. Johnston shows how "apocalyptic writings continued to articulate mainstream political and religious views throughout the later seventeenth century, exploring a wide range of eschatological themes."[43] In the early 1690s the English philosopher John Locke pursued calculations based upon his study of biblical prophecy. He determined that "the Jews would be converted in 1732, [and] the millennium would begin in 1777."[44]

Among these apocalyptic-minded English writers, the most prolific was Thomas Beverley (ca. 1621–1702), a Congregational minister. He published over forty books between 1684 and 1701, all of which sought to explain and illumine the prophecies in the book of Revelation.[45] Little is known of Beverley before the 1680s. He obtained his MA at King's College, Aberdeen in 1643. About 1683 he became a nonconformist, giving up on the Church of England. He now favoured a form of congregational church government and a society where churches were free from secular authority. He dated his departure from the Church of England and his life as a dissenter from the point in time "since I have seen into prophecy."[46] He had clearly absorbed the writings and exegetical methods of Joseph Mede and Henry More, who understood

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[43] Warren Johnston, "Revelation and the Revolution of 1688–1689," *The Historical Journal* 48:2 (2005), pp. 354f.

[44] Ibid., p. 389.

[45] Warren Johnston, "Thomas Beverley and the 'Late Great Revolution': English Apocalyptic Expectation in the Late Seventeenth Century," in Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene, ed., *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 158. For a selective listing of Beverley's writings, see Joseph Wittreich, "The Apocalypse: A Bibliography," in C.A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, ed., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1984/Manchester: Manchester University, 1984), pp. 408–412.

[46] Johnston, "Thomas Beverley and the 'Late Great Revolution'," pp. 160f.

the book of Revelation to consist of a series of prophecies that foretold the history of the church from the early period up to the end of the world. In 1684 Beverley was arrested and spent seven years in the Fleet prison,[47] probably for voicing his opposition to religious uniformity in his work, *The Principles of Protestant Truth* (1683). During his prison years Beverley produced some fifteen works of apocalyptic commentary, moving him to thank the warden for his kindness. In these writings Beverley identified the Roman Catholic Church and the papacy with the Antichrist, the beast, the whore and Babylon. He predicted the downfall of the papacy in 1697.[48]

Beverley was an energetic commentator on the reign of James II and his Catholicism, providing "apocalyptic justification" for his downfall and, thereafter, ongoing criticism of the Church of England. His first apocalyptic-minded publications appeared in 1687, when he produced three works on prophetic chronology.[49] He was confident that in the next ten years God would remove the English sovereign in an orderly way, using other rulers and princes to fulfill his will. Beverley warned against any sedition, rebellion or violence. He compared the Church of England to the church of Sardis in Revelation 3. He lamented the poor attainments of this church, its failure to pursue the "true Principles of the Reformation," and its enjoyment of protection by "States and Laws." The coming Philadelphian Church would consist of undefiled Protestants, many of whom had dissented from the Church of England and suffered as martyrs for their piety. In the not too distant future the day of the Philadelphian church would arrive, the dawning of Christ's millennial kingdom.[50]

Beverley's February 1689 tract, *The late great revolution in this nation*, saw the victory of English Protestantism as a victorious battle in the on-going war against the beast. In *The kingdom of Jesus Christ entering its succession at 1697* (1689), Beverley interpreted James' abdication of his throne as a step towards the arrival of Christ's kingdom at the end

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[47] The Fleet prison housed some three hundred prisoners. The English writer Daniel Defoe was in the Fleet in 1692, a short time after Beverley. See Pat Rogers, "Defoe in the Fleet Prison," *The Review of English Studies* 22:88 (November 1971), pp. 451–455.

[48] Johnston, "Revelation and the Revolution of 1688–1689," p. 358 and n. 22.

[49] Thomas Beverley, *A scripture-line of time, drawn in brief from the lapsed Creation, to the restitution of all things* (1687); Thomas Beverley, *The first part of the scripture line of time, presenting its several joints in a clear and brief view from the first to the last sabbatism* (1687); Thomas Beverley, *An Exposition of the divinely prophetick Song of Songs which is Solomons* (1687).

[50] Johnston, "Revelation and the Revolution of 1688–1689," pp. 359f.

of the seventeenth century. In *The prophetical history of the Reformation; or the Reformation to be reform'd in that great re-Reformation* (1689), Beverley identified the Congregational churches as "the purest form of Christianity" and pronounced the Church of England to be "outside of the Philadelphian ideal of reformation."[51] He called for further removal of the traditional "form and ceremony" and the "regimental and synagogal constitution" of the Church of England. Beverley looked abroad to developments in France, as well, predicting the success of King William's military ventures there and the liberation of French Protestants. Beverley continued to publish his apocalyptic reflections into the early eighteenth century.

In 1695 Bröske recalled his providential meeting with Thomas Beverley two years earlier. In summer of 1693, during his second visit to England on behalf of Count Johann Philipp, Bröske met with Beverley just before returning home.[52] He heard Beverley preach to a large audience and then met with him privately. They discussed a wide range of topics, and Bröske found himself, for the most part, won over to Beverley's point of view. To become better acquainted with his teachings, Bröske took home with him a number of Beverley's publications; others he arranged to have sent after him.[53]

Bröske carefully read Beverley's works and became convinced that the Englishman possessed an unique measure of spiritual understanding. Bröske took every opportunity to teach Beverley's insights and to promote his writings among educated Germans who could read English. At the request of friends, Bröske undertook the monumental task of translating some of Beverley's writings into German so that his prophetic insights might become available to his countrymen and be

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[51] Ibid., pp. 378f. See also Beverley's *The prophetical history of the Reformation; or the Reformation to be reform'd in that great re-Reformation: that is to be 1697* (1689).

[52] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Herrn Thomas Beverleys, Eines vortrefflichen Englischen Gottes-Gelehrten auch fleissigen Untersuchers deß Profetischen Worts und in Außlegung dessen eines rechten Wunder-Mannes, Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, Vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt…ins Hochteutsche gebracht Durch Konrad Brüßken Mit Vorrede an den Leser von Conrad Bröske* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Georg Henrich Oehrling, 1695). Bröske wrote: "Weilen dann Ich, durch sonderbahre Vorsehung Gottes, als ich das zweyte mahl in Engelland war, diesen Mann in seinem Patmos kurtz vor meiner Abreise angetroffen…" Bröske referred to his second visit to England on behalf of the Count in 1693. During Bröske's first trip to England in 1690, Beverley was still a prisoner in the Fleet prison. In 1692, in *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ*, Bröske made no reference to Beverley's work and complained about the lack of good interpretations of prophetic literature. See the discussion below of *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ*.

[53] Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register*.

"painted on a tablet, so that one who runs by may read it" (Habakkuk 2:2). Bröske did so with some trepidation, encouraging readers to judge Beverley's words by God's word in Scripture, by experience and by reason. Bröske reminded readers that, according to the Anglican Church, there was nothing amiss in Beverley's writings. In England he was able to preach and write in public without any hindrance. Bröske said that it was his judgment, and that of other learned men, that there was nothing in his writings that conflicted with the Reformed Church in Germany.[54] Bröske clearly still identified himself as a Reformed preacher in good standing.

In 1696, in *Die Grosse Welt-Woche*, Bröske published a twenty page response to criticisms and slanders directed against Beverley and the *Zeit-Register*. The fact that Beverley taught the thousand year kingdom of Christ was insufficient reason of itself to condemn him. Bröske reminded readers of the long line of diligent students of God's prophetic word going back to Daniel, John the Apostle, teachers in the early church and up to the present day. It was unfair to compare Beverley to Quakers and other enthusiasts, for there were many Quakers in England and Beverley had never been accused of being one of them. Bröske proceeded to give Beverley's German critics a little lesson on the Quakers. "Do these people really understand what a 'Quaker' is, and what the name means?" Beverley taught openly, not in small Quaker gatherings. No English Quaker had ever taught Beverley's views on the thousand year kingdom.[55] Bröske also distanced Beverley from the teachings of the Anabaptists. Bröske and Beverley had nothing in common with the Anabaptists and others who chat away and have "big heads but small understanding."[56] Bröske emphasized that Beverley claimed no

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Die Grosse Welt-Woche, gezeiget in der Ersten Wochen der Welt, d.i. eine deutliche Vorstellung der grossen Geheimnissen, welche in denen sechs Tagen der Schöpfung und dem darauf erfolgten siebenden Ruhe-Tage enthalten seynd. Worinnen alle merckliche Begebenheiten vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt, in sieben Zeit-Theile eingetheilt und mit ihrem Muster durchgehends verglichen werden. Sampt einer Vorrede in welcher einige ungegründete Lästerungen wider Herrn Beverley beantwortet, auch einige Ungewißheiten, ja selbsten Unrichtigkeiten in seinem Zeit-Register gezeiget, aber auch zugleich entschuldiget und verbessert werden. Alles nach Anleitung des göttlichen geoffenbarten Worts aufgesetzt und beschrieben von Conrad Brüßken hochgräfl. Isenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn* (Franckfurt und Hanau: Joh. Matthias Stann, 1696).

[56] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Die Grosse Welt-Woche, gezeiget in der Ersten Wochen der Welt*. "Ich habe lieber mit Leuten zu thun die ihre Seeligkeit schaffen mit Furcht und Zittern als die gerne quacken, das ist plaudern was ihnen ins Maul komt, Leute von breiten Köpffen aber geringem Verstande."

extraordinary inspiration or source of wisdom; he simply studied the prophetic writings of the Bible with the aid of the spirit of God.

A diligent investigator does not search in vain, so long as he gets onto the right track. There are fish in this sea to be caught, if only one casts the net in the right way.[57] Bröske acknowledged that he had been mocked for publishing Beverley's work, but said he suffered this opposition willingly.

Jane Leade and the Philadelphian Movement

A recent study describes Jane Warde Leade (1624–1704) as "probably the most important female religious leader and prolific woman author in late seventeenth-century England."[58] Her fourteen books provide a record of the visions that came to her between 1670 and 1704, the year she died. Her most active years as writer and prophetess were in the 1680s and 1690s. Leade's mystical theology consisted almost entirely of her regular interior visualizations. Many of these visions were of the Virgin Wisdom, Sophia.[59] Hirst describes Leade as "a spiritual alchemist" whose ideas were influenced by John Pordage, Jakob Böhme, alchemy, magic, Hermeticism, the Kabbala and Gnosticism.[60] Her writings reflect a desire to refine body, soul and spirit through "spiritual alchemical transmutation" and to restore the spirit to its pre-fall condition of purity. Her works were translated into Dutch and German, and were widely read in Philadelphian circles in Holland, Germany and Switzerland.[61]

Born on March 9, 1624, Jane Warde grew up in a well-off gentry family in Norfolk, an agricultural county. At the age of sixteen she experienced a spiritual crisis that set the direction for her future spiritual experiences. During Christmas celebrations, Jane felt convicted with "a sudden grievous sorrow," that this was no way to remember the nativity of the Lord. She became introspective and developed a deep sense

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[57] Ibid. "Daß also ein fleissiger Untersucher diß fals nicht vergeblich forschet, so ferne er nur auf die rechte Spur gerähtet. Fische seynd in diesem Meere zu fangen, wann nur das Netze recht geworffen wird."

[58] Julie Hirst, *Jane Leade. Biography of a Seventeenth-Century Mystic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 1.

[59] Ibid., pp. 4–7.

[60] Ibid., pp. 9f.

[61] Ibid., pp. 50f.

of her own sinfulness.[62] In 1643 she moved to London, staying for six months with her brother and his wife. There she encountered Quakers, Baptists, Ranters, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Jane Warde was especially impressed by the preaching of Tobias Crisp. He taught that God's grace was free to all who turned to God in faith. God's grace blotted out all sin and brought inward renewal and transformation. In 1644 she married her distant cousin, William Leade, and bore him four daughters, only one of whom outlived her.[63]

By the time of William's death in 1670, Jane Leade had begun attending meetings held by John Pordage (1607–1681), a former minister who shared Crisp's antinomianism. She became a valued member of Pordage's group, and found that her visions were welcomed among them. After her husband's death, and under great financial distress, she began receiving visions of Sophia. This spiritual relationship with Sophia lasted for the rest of her life. Leade now considered herself married to the Lord, her true husband.[64] In 1674, despite protests from her sister and brother, Leade moved in with Pordage and his family, calling him her "spiritual partner and mate." It was Pordage who introduced her to the ideas of Jakob Böhme (1575–1624). In 1681, the year Pordage died, she published her first book, *A Heavenly Cloud now Breaking*, and two years later, *The Revelation of Revelations*. The latter was a mystical commentary on the book of Revelation. She drew upon symbols and imagery that she found in the writings of Böhme and Pordage. This imagery had to do with spiritual sight and illumination, and included terms such as glass, mirror, globe and eye. She used the mirror to represent Sophia as the reflection of God. God's flaming eye conveyed the idea that God was all-seeing. Leade's diagrams copy illustrations found in Böhme and Pordage.[65] Ironically, in the early 1690s Leade went almost completely blind due to cataracts, and needed help in recording her visions.

In Leade's *A Fountain of Gardens*, her spiritual diary for the year 1678, she recounted the many visions that came to her on an almost daily basis. Leade credited her insights not to study or reason, but solely to God.

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[62] Ibid., pp. 16f.
[63] Ibid., pp. 18–21.
[64] Ibid., pp. 23–25.
[65] Ibid., pp. 30–34, 36, 38.

> In this ensuing Treatise you will plainly see that the Author was not any way accomplished by Knowledge, Wisdom, or Understanding from without, but meerly from the fresh rising upsprings of the Holy Spirit, which plentifully opened themselves Within: the which manifestation of the Spirit stands free to all the worthy Seekers and Waiters, that shall become desirous and willing to be taught from the immediate Inspiring and Dictates of the Holy Ghost.[66]

The entries typically began with an account of God's word coming to her "in the night in a deep sleep," or a word that "visited me this morning."[67] On another occasion she reported a lengthy experience of God's presence: "The greater part of this night I passed in a high spiritual contaction, with the mystical presence of that immense goodness seen, wherein the Spirit-life Essence existeth."[68] Her visions often portrayed flying objects that overwhelmed her senses. On one occasion, "I did suddainly see at a pritty distance, where I was, a rich splenderous thing come down all engraven, with Colours, the Ground thereof being all of Gold." "It was in the form of a large Ship with Wings, I cannot say whether more then four, which spread themselves out, being like varnished Gold; it came down with the greatest swiftness as is imaginable."[69] When she came up to it, the object flew away. Then the revealed word came to Leade, explaining that the vision signified the heavenly Ark of God in which the everlasting Gospel was sealed up. One day the Ark would return to earth, and the new covenant be established, and God's sons and daughters would live with him in the Holy City.[70]

It was thanks to the intervention of the Prussian nobleman, Baron Freiherr von Knyphausen, administrator in the court of Frederick III Elector of Brandenburg, that Jane Leade became a widely published author. Von Knyphausen had read Leade's *A Heavenly Cloud now Breaking* in the 1694 German translation by Loth Fischer of Utrecht. The Baron

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[66] Jane Lead, "The Epistle to the Reader," *A Fountain of Gardens. Or, a Spiritual Diary of the Wonderful Experiences of a Christian Soul under the Conduct of the Heavenly Wisdom* (1700). It was Francis Lee, her son-in-law, who assisted her with publication of the three volumes of her diaries, *A Fountain of Gardens*, covering the years 1670 to 1686.

[67] Jane Lead, *A Fountain of Gardens* (1700), pp. 131, 136.

[68] Ibid., p. 143.

[69] Ibid., p. 66.

[70] Ibid., p. 71. "Upon some chosen hour, the Lord…will be seen, for the bringing in his Sons and Daughters from far, that so under the Covert and Wings of the everlasting Ark, they may be nursed and brought up, for to inhabit with the high and holy One, the City that is all Salvation."

determined to publish Leade's English writings, have them translated, and publish them in German as well. In 1694, an impoverished medical student, Francis Lee, moved in with her. Leade regarded him as the spiritual son of her old age, while Lee found in her a spiritual mother. A couple of years later, at the prompting of a vision from Leade, Lee married her widowed daughter, Barbara. The three of them lived in a house in London, supported by the Baron von Knyphausen.[71]

It was in this house, from 1694 to 1696, that Leade began holding the first meetings of the London Philadelphian Society. Many in attendance were former members of the John Pordage circle. Under Leade's leadership, the Society attracted a well-educated, middle to upper class section of society. The early Philadelphian Society took its inspiration from the sixth of the seven churches in Revelation 3:7. Members expected the imminent arrival of the millennial, Philadelphian age. The meetings were dominated by women members, who were given the freedom to speak, prophesy and take leadership.[72] In 1699, when their numbers became too great to continue meeting in private homes, they began meeting at Lorimer Hall. This public venue attracted continual opposition and disturbances from mobs, forcing the society to return to meeting privately at Leade's house in Hoxton.[73]

After 1696, Leade's publications aimed at gaining followers for the Philadelphian Society.[74] Leade saw herself as the instrument of God, simply recording his will. "For I write from no other ground than what the spirit of Christ, in the glass of Wisdom, hath presented to mine inward eye, which pierceth into the deep of God's mind." In the *Enochian Walks with God*, she wrote: "It is the truth, that I have received from a good Hand; therefore I am bold to publish it."[75] In 1696 Leade's autobiography appeared in German, *Lebenslauff der Autorin*, published along with the German edition of her six tracts.[76] Her works were

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[71] Hirst, *Jane Leade*, pp. 90f.

[72] Ibid., pp. 91–93. For the constitution of the society, dated August 1697, see Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians: A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1948), pp. 91ff. For a list of the Society's 44 Propositions of 1697, see Conrad Bröske, *Dritte Unterredung Zwischen einem Politico und theologo* (1698), pp. 28–36. For the Articles of 1702 see Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians*, pp. 115–124.

[73] Hirst, *Jane Leade*, pp. 98f.

[74] The diaries appeared in print between 1696 and 1701. See Ibid., pp. 95–97.

[75] Ibid., pp. 100–102.

[76] *Sechs Unschätzbare Durch Göttliche Offenbarung und Befehl ans Liecht gebrachte Mystische Tractätlein. Allesamt beschrieben durch das theure Werckzeug Jane Leade. Neben der Autorin Lebens-lauffe*

also translated into High and Low Dutch, and were soon being read in Philadelphian circles in Holland, Germany and Switzerland. It was thanks to educated male admirers that she was able to publish so prolifically. Leade was "a pensioned prophetess surrounded by a coterie of well-educated men and women who financially underwrote her."[77]

In *A Revelation of the Everlasting Gospel Message* (1697), Leade taught the notion of universal salvation. She gained her new understanding not from the scriptures but directly from God: "I had this word spring in me: Neglect not to look into this Thorough salvation, for though it has been a Mystery from the Ages Sealed up, and unknown, yet now is the Age and Time for its Publication." She now taught God's universal love for all humanity and for the fallen angels, including the devil. She looked for the conversion of Turk, Jew and Papist.[78] Also unique in Leade's millennialism was the way in which she made room for Sophia alongside Christ. "Although Leade believed that the second coming of Christ was imminent, her millenarian hopes centred as much on Sophia's return as on Christ's." Sophia was God's spouse and mate, the light and dawn of a new era.[79]

In 1698 the Offenbach press published three works related to Jane Leade. The first was a German translation of Leade's "Reasons and Grounds for Establishing the Philadelphian Society" (*Ursachen und Gründe*).[80] The second was *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen* (The History of the Reborn) Part I, by Bröske's friend Johann Henrich Reitz, in which Leade figured prominently.[81] Coming last in the conversion stories

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und einem kurtzen Nachberichte des Übersetzers (Amsterdam: Wetstein, 1696). [Located in HAB M: Ts 339 (3)]. For an English summary see Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians*, chapter 2.

[77] Hirst, *Jane Leade*, pp. 94, 100, 104, 106f. "Her international reputation came out of sponsored translation."

[78] Ibid., pp. 115–118.

[79] Ibid., pp. 121f.

[80] Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literatur-produktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck& Ruprecht, 1989), p. 145. The German title is: *Ursachen und Gründe welche hauptsächlich Anlaß gegeben die Filadelfische Societät auffzurichten und zu befördern; So wohl auch auß denenselben außgezogene und in Heil. Schrifft gegründete Propositiones, und dann endlich der Zustand und Beschaffenheit dieser Societät* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1698).

[81] Johann Henrich Reitz, *I. Theil der Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1698), pp. 156–160. Reitz incorporated sections of Leade's German autobiography into his account. Scholars, including Schrader, have missed this identity for "J.L." in Reitz's history. Schrader referred to J.L. as simply another Puritan woman ("ebenfalls eine Puritanerin"). See Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 393 n. 39.

of godly English women, the Leade account describes the important role of gatherings of the godly in her spiritual growth. The presence of Jane Leade in this collection reflects the Philadelphian conventicle perspective of Reitz's work. The third Offenbach work to discuss Leade was Bröske's *Zweite Unterredung*, in which the two dialogue partners, Theologus and Politicus, discuss Leade's recently published *Ursachen und Gründe*. Theologus cites Leade in explaining to Politicus what exactly constitutes a Philadelphian.

Bröske's Conversion to Millennialism and Philadelphianism

An interesting but hard to answer question is precisely when and under what conditions Bröske came to espouse a millennialist worldview. In his brief 1710 autobiography he said nothing about this change of mind. But at some point Bröske's thinking veered from the orthodox Reformed theology of his youth. He may well have made contact with Jakob Böhme reading groups during his study trip to England in 1686. In September 1690 and summer of 1693 Bröske made further trips to England to raise funds for a Latin school on behalf of Count Johann Philipp II.[82] During the second trip Bröske met up with Thomas Beverley, and probably at some point with Jane Leade and Thomas Bromley (1629–1691) as well. He may well have been among the first German Pietists to make personal contact with these people.

After his 1690 trip to England, Bröske's mind turned to issues of eschatology, evidenced by his 1692 work on the Antichrist in the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation.[83] Beverley's influence becomes apparent in Bröske's writings following his trip in summer of 1693. Bröske's attraction to Beverley was seconded by his younger brother, Johann Hermann Brößke (1670–1714); this is evident in the latter's 1693 work, *Das Ende der Welt*: "The End of the World, or Daniel's Time-line, based upon

[82] Direktor Dr. Buchhold, *Zur Geschichte der Offenbacher Lateinschule* (Offenbach: 1912), p. 17.

[83] Conrad Bröske, *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ, oder Schrift- und geschichtmäßige Erklärung der Weissagung des Apostels 2 Thess. II, 3–8, worinnen zugleich einige dunkele Gesichter Daniels und der Offenbahrung sehr deutlich vorgestellt und damit etliche Strahlen eines in Gedanken schwebenden Schlüssels zu der Offenbahrung Johannis gezeigt werden. Ehemals öffentlich und mündlich in einer vornehmen holländischen Stadt vorgestellet, und nun zum Druck beschrieben von einem, welcher das Thier hasset und Christum Bekennet* (Hanau: 1692).

the Time Calculations of a Learned Englishman."[84] Johann Hermann evidently shared Conrad's enthusiasm for Beverley, and they probably encouraged each other in this new way of thinking. On October 21, 1694, Conrad Bröske's sermon at the baptism of a Turkish servant girl treated her conversion as evidence of the second great conversion of the Gentiles and the dawning of the millennial age of world-wide peace.[85] In 1695 Bröske completed his German translation of Beverley's massive apocalyptic-chiliastic *Zeit-Register* (Time Index). It seems clear that by late 1694 Bröske had become an enthusiastic, but not uncritical, proponent of Beverley's millennial views and general scheme of expectation. The key factors were his brief meeting with Beverley, his reading and translation of Beverley's works, the encouragement of his brother Johann Hermann, and events surrounding the Turkish baptism in Offenbach.

The impact of Jane Leade upon Bröske became evident by 1698, when as censor he oversaw the publication of three works that promoted her views. In Bröske's *Zweite Unterredung* (1698), the two dialogue partners, Theologus and Politicus, discuss the recent publication of Leade's *Ursachen und Gründe*, just as in the first dialogue they had discussed Thomas Beverley's *Zeit-Register*.[86] It seems likely that Bröske translated both of these English works, but there is no proof of this in the case of Leade. The Theologian quotes from Leade's book to explain to the Politician exactly who the Philadelphians are:

> They are a God-fearing society, who seek after real improvement of life and behaviour, promote a truly heroic Christian godliness, and universal peace and love among all people. Although great ruin and deviation from the apostolic standard is evident in most if not all the churches, yet they [the Philadelphians] do not completely cut themselves off or sepa-

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[84] Johann Hermann Brößke, *Das Ende der Welt, Oder Daniels Zeit-Register von Cores an biß auff das herrliche Reich Christi in dem Neuen Jerusalem. Auß der Zeit-Rechnung eines Englischen Gottes-Gelehrten zusammen gezogen* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1693). See Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literatur-produktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus*, p. 142.

[85] Conrad Bröske, Hochgräffl. Hofprediger zu Offenbach am Mayn, *In einer Predigt über Matth. VIII, 11. der 21. Winter-Monats 1694 Vorgestellt, und auff gnädigsten Befehl im Druck herausgegeben, zum Theil erfüllete und noch zu erfüllen bevorstehende Bekehrung der Heyden, samt einer aussführlichen Erzehlung der am selbigen Tage zu Offenbach einer Türken-Taufe, als einer gebohrnen Türkin die h. Taufe mitgetheilet worden* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1694).

[86] Conrad Bröske, *Eine Unterredung Zwischen einem Politico und theologo Über die letztere herauß-gegebene Erklärungen Daniels, der H. Offenbahrung und anderer Weissagungen mehr. Worinnen untersuchet wird ob diese Bücher nicht vor auffrührische Schrifften zu halten und deren Urhebere als Auffrührere und Friedens-Stöhrer zu straffen seynd* (1698), pp. 6f.

> rate from such a body, community or church in which they themselves formerly lived according to their best light and understanding. Much less do they seek to persuade others to forsake the point of view of that community to which they had previously been committed, nor do they seek to separate themselves from it for this or that reason. For on the day of the Lord, they will all come together and call upon the Spirit of God to fulfill his promises.[87]

This passage nicely summarizes Bröske's own non-separatist Philadelphian beliefs. By 1698 Bröske had already established himself as an active force within the Philadelphian movement in Germany, at a time when Horch, Reitz and Arnold were just beginning to identify with the cause.[88] Under Bröske's influence, Offenbach became the nucleus (*Keimzelle*) for the growing Philadelphian movement within Germany.[89]

In 1703, when the English Philadelphians commissioned Johann Dittmar to make an official visit in Holland and Germany, he was instructed to contact some seventy-two German Philadelphians. The *Catalogus amicorum in Germania* (Catalog of friends in Germany) included Philipp Jakob Spener in Berlin, Johann Wilhelm Petersen in Magdeburg, and Gottfried Arnold, Henrich Reitz, Heinrich Horch and Conrad Bröske in the environs of Frankfurt.[90] In identifying himself with the Philadelphian Society, Bröske took a step that Beverley himself never took.

The Philadelphian movement's success in Germany was thanks to the work of laymen such as the Berlin nobleman Dodo von Knyphausen, scholars such as Johann Wilhelm Petersen, pastors such as Conrad Bröske, and publishers such as Bonaventura de Launoy. By the early eighteenth century nearly the whole of radical Pietism was "infiltrated

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[87] *Zweyte Unterredung Zwischen einem Politico und Theologo, Von Dem jetzigen Zustande der Kirchen Darinnen Untersuchet und gezeiget wird was sich heutiges Tages bereits vor Kennzeichen in der Kirchen hervor thun . . . Von einem unpartheyischen Hörer dieser Gespräche vorgestellet* (1698), p. 30.

[88] Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 409, 429 n. 119. In 1698 in Quedlinburg, Gottfried Arnold reported in a letter to J.H. May: "Here we all take the opportunity to write to Leade."

[89] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 133f.

[90] See Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann, ed. *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), pp. 112f., 172 n. 37; and Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians*, pp. 125–127. The original *Catalogus* is located in the Schloß Friedenstein Archive in Gotha: Die Handschriftensammlung der Landesbibliothek Gotha: A 297 Sammelband: Apparatus ad historiam ecclesiasticam novam, Teil I, Folioband 581 Seiten. "Tomus hic primus continet pietistica, maximam partem autograph. Instructio philadelphensium dithmaro data est originalia."

by the leaven of the Philadelphian intellectual inheritance."[91] Leade's millenarian or chiliastic views proved popular as Pietists found a kindred spirit in Leade and derived encouragement from translations of her writings. The Rostock theologian Georg Friederic Niehenck devoted significant attention to the Philadelphians. His 1709 *Compendium Errorum Pietisticorum* (Compendium of the Errors of the Pietists)[92] made numerous references to Johann Konrad Dippel (about fifteen references), to Johann Wilhelm and Johanna Eleonora Petersen (nine), and to works by Gottfried Arnold (six references). Niehenck made two references each to the writings of Conrad Bröske,[93] Jane Leade, Eva von Buttlar,[94] and Johann Henrich Reitz,[95] and one reference to the works of Heinrich Horch.[96] Bröske found himself among a group of millenniarian-minded Protestant writers who attracted vigorous opposition from orthodox Protestant theologians.

Bröske's Interpretations of Prophetical Literature up to 1697

Bröske's first apocalyptic commentary, *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ* (the Antichrist Revealed), was published anonymously in Hanau in 1692. The author is simply described as "someone who hates the beast and confesses Christ." This desire for anonymity, and use of a press outside of Offenbach, suggest Bröske's discomfort about going public with his views within his home territory. The work was based on a sermon Bröske had preached in a city in Holland, the text taken from Paul's words in 2 Thessalonians 2:3–8:

> For the day of Christ does not come unless the falling away come first and the man of sin be revealed, the child of destruction. He is the great opponent, and exalts himself above everything to do with God or the worship of God. He takes his seat in the temple of God as if he were a

[91] Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert," p. 112.

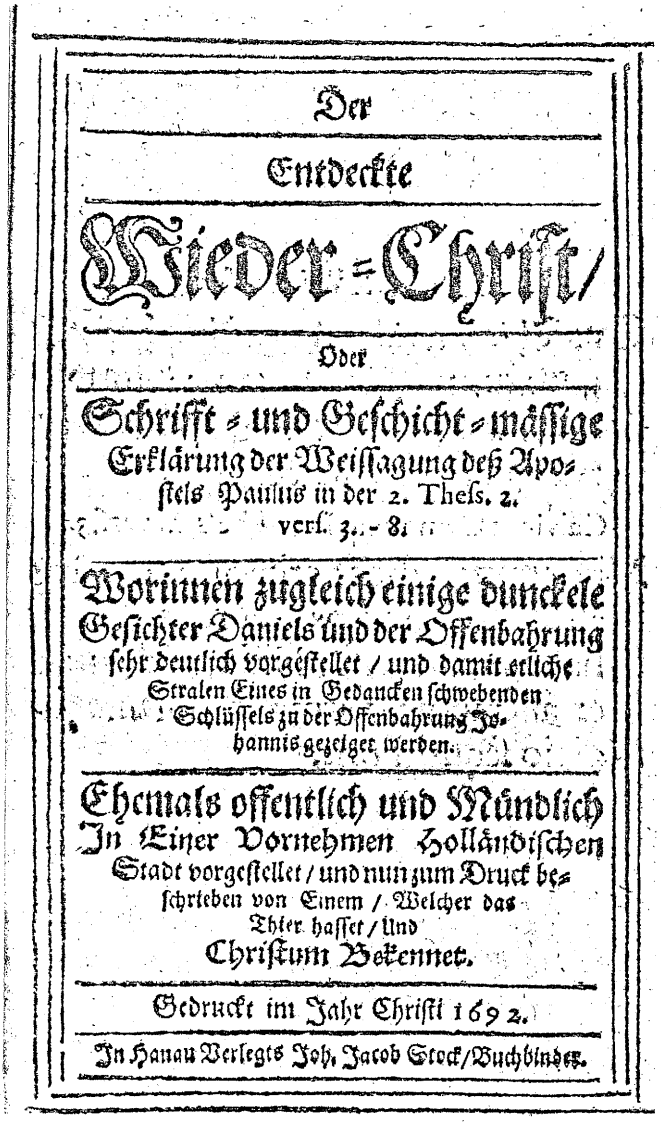
[92] Georg Friederic Niehenck, *Compendium errorum pietisticorum* (Leipzig and Rostock: 1709, 1710).

[93] In both cases Bröske's *von der wahren Christen Tauffe* (1698), was cited to illustrate erroneous Pietist thinking on the sacraments. Bröske, for example, taught that Baptism should not be called a sacrament, and said that Baptism was not a means of grace nor a means of creating faith. Cf. Niehenck, *Compendium errorum pietisticorum*, pp. 138, 144.

[94] Ibid., pp. 70, 88.

[95] Ibid., pp. 38, 159.

[96] Ibid., p. 140.



Der

Entdeckte

Wieder-Christ/

Oder

Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige
Erklärung der Weissagung deß Apo-
stels Paulus in der 2. Thess. 2.
vers. 3. - 8.

Worinnen zugleich einige dunckele
Gesichter Daniels und der Offenbahrung
sehr deutlich vorgestellet / und damit etliche
Stralen Eines in Gedancken schwebenden
Schlüssels zu der Offenbahrung Jo-
hannis gezeiget werden.

Ehemals offentlich und Mündlich
In Einer Vornehmen Holländischen
Stadt vorgestellet / und nun zum Druck be-
schrieben von Einem / Welcher das
Thier hasset / Und
Christum Bekennet.

Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1692.

In Hanau Verlegts Joh. Jacob Stock/Buchbinder.

Fig. 4. Title page of Bröske's work on the Antichrist as found in 2 Thessalonians 2:3–8: *Der Entdeckte Wieder-Christ* (1692).

> god, declaring himself to be God…And then the evil one will be revealed, whom the Lord will destroy with the breath of his mouth, and will make an end of him by the manifestation of his coming.[97]

In the Foreword, Bröske indicated his intention to provide readers with "a key so they may understand many dark passages of Scripture." He was somewhat apologetic, confessing some uncertainty in dealing with the subject. He explained that he had submitted his views on the Antichrist to others for their critical judgment before putting them into print. He also sought to correct a misunderstanding that readers might have in thinking that he focused solely upon Biblical prophecy and interpretation to the neglect of other edifying portions of Scripture. "You should know that in my office [as court preacher] I preach on all kinds of Scripture texts as they arise in the course of the Christian year." But when it came to writing, Bröske chose to focus on prophetical literature because "there is a real lack of reliable interpretations available."[98] He decided, therefore, to ignore all other interpretations and to simply read and comment on the words of the biblical text.[99]

In interpreting the reference in 2 Thessalonians 2:3 to those who "fall away," Bröske argued that this refers to those who have outwardly received Christ and confessed him with their words. For example, "When people assume office in the church as a Bishop, teacher or elder…but then pay more attention to matters of wealth, honour and recognition than to the honour of God and to building up the church, that is the kind of falling-away of which we speak."[100] This falling away could conceivably refer to a wide variety of groups, sects and heretics throughout Christian history, who distorted the teachings of Christ, faith in Christ and the righteousness received by faith. But none of these earlier groups possessed all the distinctive signs mentioned in the biblical text. Only the Roman Catholic Church and the popes possessed them all:

> They once stood in the faith, but have fallen; they held to the Lord Jesus, but have fallen away; they confessed Christ outwardly with their words,

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[97] Bröske cited the passage from the Luther Bible. My translation of the passage into English is also based upon the Luther Bible: *Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments, verdeutscht von D. Martin Luther, 22. Auflage* (Stuttgart: Privilegirte Bibel-Anstalt, 1887).

[98] Bröske, "Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser," *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ*, pp. 3f.

[99] Bröske, *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ*, p. 13.

[100] Ibid., p. 16.

> but then renounced him and his satisfaction, office as mediator and so on. Here is a falling away both in doctrine and life.[101]

And if the papists boast that their church is the most ancient, that their doctrines and ceremonies have existed for more than 1,260 years, Bröske would reply: "All this may go back as early as they wish, but if it is not found in scripture, then it is still the work of Antichrist and the secret of evil." "They may insist upon their traditions, fathers and ancient heritage, but whatever is not found in scripture, but goes against scripture, belongs to the mystery of iniquity."[102]

These prophecies of Paul, said Bröske, were obviously being fulfilled in their day. "The prophecy of the apostle in 2 Thessalonians is easy for us to understand, because we have the fulfillment before our very eyes." But what had not yet been fulfilled was the last part of the text in 2 Thessalonians 2:8: God's judgment upon this man of sin and the church's deliverance from his power. The day is yet to come when the gospel will be preached in the power of the spirit so that "the land will be full of the knowledge of God."[103] Although the Reformation brought a certain freedom from papal tyranny, the church of Christ in Bröske's day was "still not completely free of the yoke of Antichrist."

> Christianity till now has had no great impact upon the Jews, Turks and heathen. Nor has it attained a universal conversion throughout the world. Nor have Christians themselves demonstrated the power to attain a new level of holy and godly desire and action. Nor has there been a great coming together of humankind. Nor does the wolf lie with the lamb. Nor is the earth full of the knowledge of God.[104]

Bröske, however, expressed his confidence that in a short time Christianity would increase as never before in its history. Two years later, at the baptism of the Turkish girl, he expressed his conviction that that day had indeed arrived.

On March 19, 1695, Bröske dedicated his translation of Thomas Beverley's *Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten* (Time-table with the Signs of the Times) to his prince, Johann Philipp, Count of Ysenburg and Büdingen, and to Henry the Prince of Nassau. He praised these

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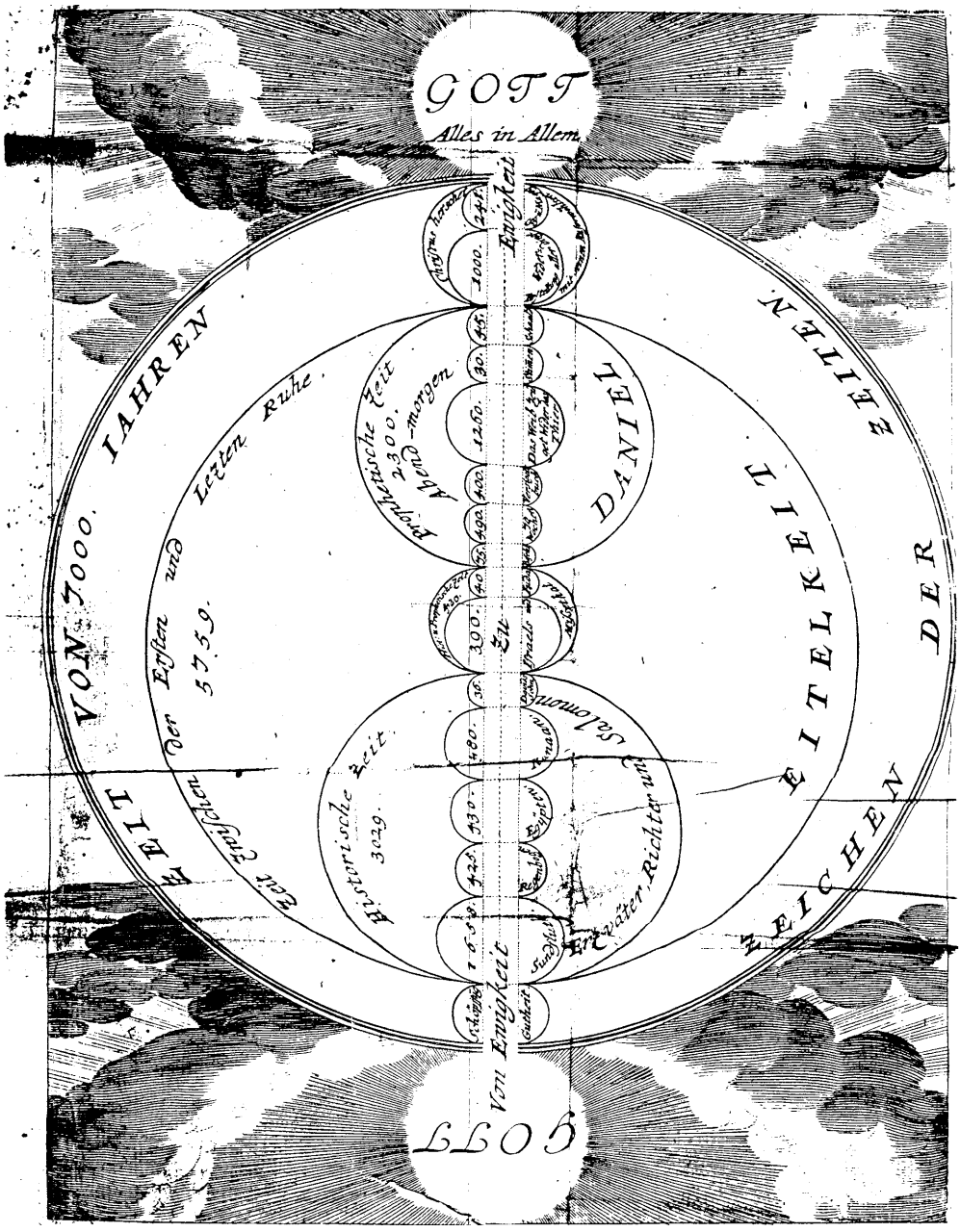
[101] Ibid., pp. 26–29.

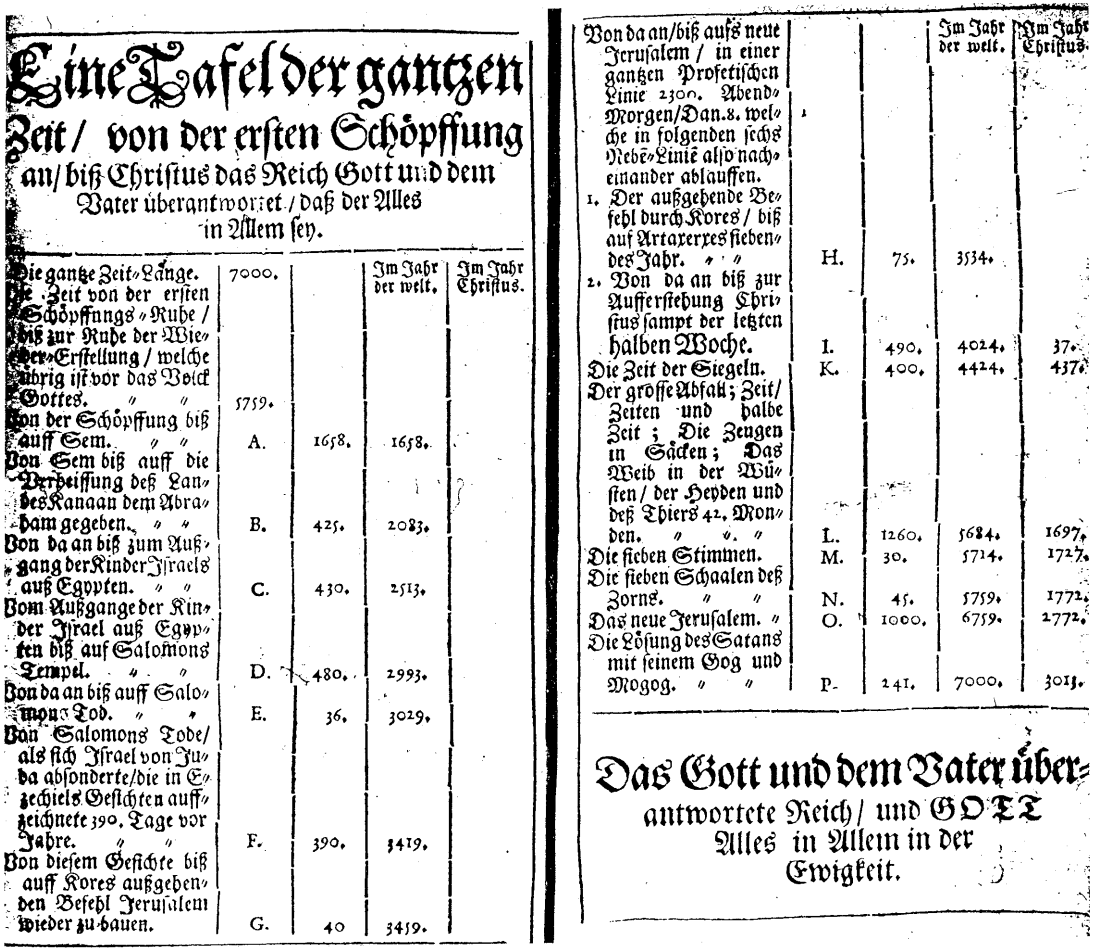
[102] Ibid., pp. 48f. "Sie mögen nun pochen auff traditionen, Vätter, Alter, u.a.m. Alles was nicht Schrifftmässig ist, und im Gegentheil wider die Schrifft lauffet, daß gehöret zu diesem Geheimnüß der Boßheit."

[103] Ibid., pp. 57f.

[104] Ibid., pp. 72f., 77.


GOTT
Alles in Allem
GOTT
Von Ewigkeit
zu Ewigkeit
DER EITELKEIT DER EITELKEITEN
VON 7000. IAHREN
Der Erden und Ihrer Ruhe.
Der Erden
5759.
Historische Zeit
3029.
Prophetische Zeit
2300. Abend-morgen
DANIEL
Salomons
Ihr
Erz-vater. Richter
Anfang
Ende

5a



Eine Tafel der gantzen Zeit / von der ersten Schöpffung an / biß Christus das Reich Gott und dem Vater überantwortet / daß der Alles in Allem sey.

			Im Jahr der welt.	Im Jahr Christus.
Die gantze Zeit-Länge.	7000.			
Die Zeit von der ersten Schöpffungs-Ruhe / biß zur Ruhe der Wieder-Erstellung / welche übrig ist vor das Volck Gottes. " "	5759.			
Von der Schöpffung biß auff Sem. " "	A.	1658.	1658.	
Von Sem biß auff die Verheiffung deß Landes Kanaan dem Abraham gegeben. " "	B.	425.	2083.	
Von da an biß zum Außgang der Kinder Israels auß Egypten. " "	C.	430.	2513.	
Vom Außgange der Kinder Israel auß Egypten biß auf Salomons Tempel. " "	D.	480.	2993.	
Von da an biß auff Salomons Tod. " "	E.	36.	3029.	
Von Salomons Tode / als sich Israel von Juda absonderte / die in Ezechiels Gesichten auffzeichnete 390. Tage vor Jahre. " "	F.	390.	3419.	
Von diesem Gesichte biß auff Kores außgehenden Befehl Jerusalem wieder zu bauen.	G.	40	3459.	
Von da an / biß aufs neue Jerusalem / in einer gantzen Profetischen Linie 2300. Abend-Morgen / Dan. 8. welche in folgenden sechs Nebē-Linie also nacheinander ablauffen.				
1. Der außgehende Befehl durch Kores / biß auf Artaxerxes sieben-des Jahr. " "	H.	75.	3534.	
2. Von da an biß zur Aufferstehung Christus sampt der letzten halben Woche.	I.	490.	4024.	37.
Die Zeit der Siegeln.	K.	400.	4424.	437.
Der grosse Abfall; Zeit / Zeiten und halbe Zeit; Die Zeugen in Säcken; Das Weib in der Wüsten / der Heyden und deß Thiers 42. Monden. " "	L.	1260.	5684.	1697.
Die sieben Stimmen.	M.	30.	5714.	1727.
Die sieben Schaalen deß Zorns. " "	N.	45.	5759.	1772.
Das neue Jerusalem. "	O.	1000.	6759.	2772.
Die Lösung des Satans mit seinem Gog und Mogog. " "	P.	241.	7000.	3013.

Das Gott und dem Vater überantwortete Reich / und GOTT Alles in Allem in der Ewigkeit.

5b

Figs. 5a+b. Thomas Beverley's schematic overview of 7,000 years of world history, portrayed in a circular illustration (*a*) and a table (*b*) (1695).

noblemen as men appointed by God to be lords and heads over their people. He reminded them that they lived in a time when the angel of Philadelphia desired to lift them up and honour them. Their cooperative rule was a model of Philadelphian love.[105]

In the foreword to Thomas Beverley's *Zeit-Register*, Bröske enthusiastically endorsed Beverley as an interpreter of prophetic scripture, a dramatic about-face from his comments in 1692. In *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ*, Bröske had complained about the lack of good material on the subject of biblical prophecy, and had decided to ignore all other interpretations. He now saw Beverley as uniquely gifted to explain biblical prophecy.

> The nearer we come to the end of days, the greater the understanding we have to encourage us according to God's promise in Daniel 12:4, 9, 10…For this reason Thomas Beverley the learned Englishman, in his own Patmos, has been moved to turn his zeal and thinking to the firm word of prophecy, and to investigate exactly what time the spirit of God is indicating in these prophetic works, and whether he is pointing to the signs of the present time in which we now live. This he has indeed discovered with the help of almighty God. He attained this knowledge through his diligent searching of the word of holy scripture, not through unusual revelations or dreams or visions or any other sources of inspiration.[106]

By the aid of God's spirit, said Bröske, Beverley was able to discern in scripture the timeline of events from the beginning to the end of time—"the like of which has never before been seen." He insightfully discussed future events both within England and beyond: "the victory of the King in Ireland, the successful repelling of the attempted French invasion of England, and the return of the Waldensians into their country and the granting of religious freedom to them." Beverley had even given copies of his works to the King of England and to members of Parliament.[107]

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[105] *Herrn Thomas Beverleys, Eines vortrefflichen Englischen Gottes-Gelehrten auch fleissigen Untersuchers deß Profetischen Worts und in Außlegung dessen eines rechten Wunder-Mannes, Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, Vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt. Wie beyde von Gott selbsten in seinem Worte geoffenbahret seynd. Sampt Allerhand nachdencklichen Anmerck- und Bestimmungen derer Begebenheiten die sich bißher zugetragen, auch nechstens nach dem Profetischen Worte Gottes zu gewarten stehen. Alles auß dieses Mannes verschiedenen herrlichen Schrifften zusammen gezogen und ins Hochteutsche gebracht Durch Konrad Brüßken Mit Vorrede an den Leser von Conrad Bröske* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Georg Henrich Oehrling, 1695). See Bröske's dedication.

[106] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten*.

[107] Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register*.

Beverley's *Zeit-Register* presents the biblical chronology from "the first day of rest [in Genesis 2] up to the great rest in the kingdom of the Lord Christ." Bröske editorialized briefly to explain the significance of Beverley's reference to the "rest in the kingdom of Christ."

> Beverley is of the opinion that a thousand year kingdom of the Lord Jesus is still to be expected. This will include a renewal of all things, and a liberation of all creation from its misery. This is what he means by "the great rest in the kingdom of the Lord Christ," which he explains from God's word in a wonderful fashion. Beverley's explanation is far removed from the errors of the so-called and hated *Chiliasmus*.[108]

Bröske's comments here represent his first, tentative justification of belief in a coming thousand year kingdom on earth.

After his foreword, Bröske inserted a sixteen page summary of Beverley's teaching which Bröske had found in another of Beverley's writings. In this summary Beverley offered an overview of world history, portrayed visually in an accompanying table and circular illustration of 7,000 years of time. This eschatological manifesto breathes Beverley's certainty and the ingenuity of his biblical interpretations. He began by asserting that in five years, in the year 1700, the great revolution (*Umdrehung*) would come to pass, when the kingdoms of this world would pass away and become the kingdom of God and Christ. Beverley said there was biblical precedent for the word "revolution"; the prophet Ezekiel spoke of a wheel in Ezekiel 10:13.[109] Beverley concluded from his calculations that he was living in the last six years before the arrival of Christ's kingdom. He was as certain of his reading of the prophetical signs as he was in determining the arrival of spring each year. He knew this, "most certainly, and without fail," and "without any chance of contradiction."[110] This revolution would bring with it the fall of the papacy, and soon after the fall of "the horror of Muhammad."[111] Likewise, he anticipated the downfall of "the whole set of Protestant dignitaries, of archbishops, bishops and the like" with the arrival of the new order of Philadelphian equality under the chief shepherd. In this

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[108] *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register*, p. 5.

[109] Ibid., pp. 5f. "Nun dieses Wort Umdrehung hat der Profet Ezechiel vor langen Zeiten gebraucht, Cap. 10:13 wann er hörete ruffen: O Galgal! welches wir (in der Englischen Bibel) übersetzen: O Rad!"

[110] Ibid., pp. 10, 11, 14.

[111] Ibid., p. 16. "Ich erwarte den Fall deß Pabstthums, als das vornehmste Theil des Abfalls, und bald hernach der Muhamedischen Grausamkeit, welche biß so lange noch dauren wird, und nicht länger."

new order, Beverley himself would be appointed a prophet of Christ. The gospel would be proclaimed to the ends of the earth, and heathen and Jews everywhere would come to Christ.[112] The saints would then reign with Christ for a thousand years, and live in the new heaven and the new earth. They would live as Adam had lived in paradise before the fall. After the thousand years, the godless would be cast into the fire along with Satan, the beast and his prophets.[113]

Bröske's *Die Grosse Welt-Woche* (the Great World Week) of 1696 begins with a twenty page defence of Beverley in response to criticisms directed at the German edition of the *Zeit-Register*. Bröske identified where he thought Beverley was right, and where not, where Beverley's numbers could be confirmed, and where not. Bröske concluded that Beverley's mistakes really only added up to a few years. Bröske asked rhetorically, if Beverley's calculations were basically correct, and only erred by a few years, "Who is so hard and loveless that he could not forgive him this mistake?" "He has gone as far as he could [with his calculations], and allows each of us the freedom to improve upon them."[114] When Beverley stated that the whole period of world history added up to 7,000 years, he only repeated what Jews and Christians had long held. Beverley was probably right when he argued that the seventy weeks of Daniel ended in 37 A.D., and that the 1,260 "days" go from the year 437 A.D. to 1697 A.D. The final half period, the seven thunders of Revelation 10, represented the time of the Reformation beginning with Martin Luther's ninety-five theses in 1517 and continuing up to 1697 A.D. The only uncertainty arose from the fact that no one was sure exactly of the year when Christ was born, or the year in which he died. But this was an uncertainty that all of Christendom shared in, not just Beverley. It was true that Christians could not know for certain the day and hour and even the year of the Lord's kingdom and the

[112] Ibid., pp. 18f.
[113] Ibid., pp. 218–221.
[114] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Die Grosse Welt-Woche, gezeiget in der Ersten Wochen der Welt. Das ist Eine deutliche Vorstellung der grossen Geheimnüssen welche in denen Sechs Tagen der Schöpffung und dem darauff erfolgten Siebenden Ruhe-Tage, enthalten seynd. Worinnen alle merckliche Begebenheiten vom Anfange biß ans Ende der Welt in sieben Zeit-Theile eingetheilet und mit ihrem Muster durchgehends verglichen werden. Sampt einer Vorrede in welcher einige ungegründete Lästerungen wider Herrn Beverley beantwortet, auch einige Ungewißheiten, ja selbsten Unrichtigkeiten in seinem Zeit-Register gezeiget, aber auch zugleich entschuldiget und verbessert werden. Alles nach Anleitung deß Göttlichen geoffenbareten Worts auffgesetzt und beschrieben Von Conrad Brüßken. Hochgräfl. Isenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn* (Franckfurt: Joh. Matthias Stam, 1696).

last judgment. However, someone like Beverley who read the signs of the times could discern whether the coming kingdom of the Lord were far away or very near.[115]

In *Die Grosse Welt-Woche*, Bröske explained how seven thousand years of world history were prefigured in the six days of creation followed by the day of rest in Genesis chapters one and two. Moses said in Psalm 90:4, "a thousand years are like a day that is soon gone, and like a night-watch." This principle was confirmed in the New Testament in 2 Peter 3:7, 8. Bröske noted that the six chronological days or periods of time in world history did not always add up to exactly 1,000 years each; some periods were longer, others shorter. The seventh day millennial rest, however, would be precisely one thousand years long.[116] Bröske interpreted the seven days of creation found in Genesis chapters one and two in a twofold way: "the literal understanding of each day" in terms of God's work of creation, and "the secret meaning" of each day in terms of church and world history.[117]

In Genesis 1:1–5, the text reads,

> In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. The earth was barren and empty, and full of darkness, and God's spirit hovered over the waters. And God said, 'Let there be light, and there was light.' …And God separated the light from the darkness. And God called the light day, and the darkness night.

On the first day, God made light, and set it apart from the darkness. This represents the age from Adam to Noah, when the children of God were set apart from the children of darkness. After Adam's fall into sin, his posterity came into a desolate and dark world, living in the shadow of death. But God sent Christ as the light which shines into darkness (John 1:4, 5). The children of God, marked by faith and godliness, set themselves apart from the darkness of the godless.[118] In verses 6 to 10, *on the second day*, God separated the waters under the expanse from those above the expanse. Those above he called heaven. And he gathered the waters below together; the dry land he called earth, and the waters he called seas. For Bröske, the waters represent the sinful world, and the earth represents the church. In the age from Noah to

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[115] Ibid.
[116] Bröske, *Die Grosse Welt-Woche*, pp. 4f.
[117] Ibid., pp. 11, 14.
[118] Ibid., pp. 11–18.

Abraham, the first separation of the people of sin from the people of the church occurred with the flood. In verses 11 to 13, *on the third day*, God filled the earth with grass and trees and fruit, making the earth a suitable place for animals and humankind to inhabit. Bröske interpreted the third day as the period from Abraham to the exodus of Israel from Egypt under Moses. Now the people of faith began to demonstrate the fruits of faith; they bore the fruit of the spirit in abundant measure. Abraham was therefore called the father of believers.[119]

In Genesis 1:14 to 19, *the fourth day* of creation, God made the stars and the sun and moon, the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night. These heavenly bodies make it possible to interpret signs, and seasons and years. This is the period from Moses to the birth of Christ. The sun, moon and stars represent Aaron, Moses and the priests and prophets. Alternatively, the sun and moon point to spiritual and worldly rulers: the sun represents the high priesthood in Israel; the moon stands for the class of kings and rulers; the stars stand for the prophets and other men inspired by God. The sun, moon and stars made it possible for Moses to establish the Sabbath and feast days. In Genesis 1:20 to 23, *the fifth day* of creation, God filled the sea with all kinds of fish, and the air with an abundance of birds. This is the period from the apostles and church fathers up to the appearance of the Antichrists. The earth is the church, and the birds are the zealous Christians of the early church, and the Christian emperors such as Constantine the Great, and Theodosius. The many kinds of fish represent the godless heretics, persecutors and heathen emperors.[120]

In Genesis 1:24 to 31, *the sixth day* of creation, God made the animals, and created humankind in his image to rule over the creatures of sea, earth and sky. This is the period of history from the fall of the Roman empire up to the end of world history. This is the age when the animals, the Christians and the church, spread throughout the earth. But then the wild animals, such as lions, bears and tigers—the false prophets—go out and persecute and drink the blood of the sheep, the true confessors and disciples of Christ. But God will judge the persecutors and save his church. The creation of Adam and Eve represents Christ and his church. Just as at the end of the sixth day Adam and Eve were given authority to rule over creation, so at the end of the

[119] Ibid., pp. 20–32.
[120] Ibid., pp. 32–45.

sixth age of history, Christ and his church will gain the victory and rule over their enemies.[121] In Genesis 2, verses 1–3 describe *the seventh day* when God ceased his work of creation, and rested. And God hallowed the seventh day. This refers to the final age of millennial rest, a time of jubilee and rest for all creation. The earth will be full of the knowledge of God. Christ and his saints will rule for a thousand years. Satan will be bound for this thousand year period. At the end of the millennial age, he will be released for a short time (Revelation 20:7), but then condemned to eternal judgment. The righteous will inherit the eternal kingdom of God.[122]

On November 27, 1695, Conrad Bröske "presented publicly" his interpretation of Zachariah chapter four to the Reformed Church in Hanau. The following year he published these comments through a printer in Hanau: *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter Und Zween Oel-Bäume. Das ist Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Erklärung deß 4ten Kapittels der Weissagungen Obgedachten Profetens* (Zechariah's Golden Lampstand and the two Olive Trees. An Explanation of Zechariah chapter 4).[123] The passage tells of the prophet's vision in which an angel showed him a golden lamp stand and two olive trees, one on each side of it. (Zechariah 4:1–3, 11–14)

Bröske admitted to readers that he was no prophet; he offered his interpretation of this passage in Zechariah as a child-like effort to speak, in hopes that one day with the aid of God's spirit he would learn to speak as a prophet. He desired nothing more than to have Christ's gift of the spirit of prophecy. In the foreword, Bröske observed that in Ephesians 4:11 Paul clearly states that God gives prophets to the church in the New Testament age. Bröske believed such a text was meant to encourage him.[124] In the rest of the foreword, Bröske explained the marks of the New Testament gift of prophecy. He noted first that God revealed himself to the prophets in various ways: in visions, in dreams, in conversation, as with Moses, and in dark words and parables (Numbers 12:6–8). The children of the prophets, Bröske observed, gained prophetic understanding through diligent investigation and study of the revealed word through the aid of the holy spirit. It was the prophet's

[121] Ibid., pp. 45–51.
[122] Ibid., pp. 52–56.
[123] Konrad Brüßke, *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter Und Zween Oel-Bäume. Das ist Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Erklärung deß 4ten Kapittels der Weissagungen Obgedachten Profetens. Den 27. Wintermonats deß Jahrs Christus 1695 in der Reformirten Hoch-Teutschen Kirchen zu Hanau offentlich vorgestellet* (Hanau: Johann Matthias Stann, 1696).
[124] Brüßke, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter*, pp. 3f.

duty to proclaim the word and will of God to the people, to instruct, strengthen, encourage and rebuke.[125]

Bröske discussed how to distinguish true prophets from false. He offered three guidelines. First, God gives various accompanying signs to credit his prophets, such as the ability to heal (Genesis 20:7, 17, 18). Second, the true prophet's words come to pass (Jeremiah 28:9). Third, God's spokesman demonstrates purity of doctrine and purity of life (Matthew 7:15, 16). Bröske offered some additional observations about God's prophets. First, it is clear that women as well as men can receive the gift of prophecy and the power of the spirit. One sees this in Old Testament prophets such as Miriam, Deborah, Hanna, and Hulda. Second, one observes times when there was no prophet of God to guide people (Psalm 74:9, Isaiah 3:1, 2), and God's word was scarce. But now, in Bröske's day, Christ had come and renewed the gift of prophets. Third, the foremost duty of prophets is to proclaim the Messiah and his kingdom. Fourth, the prophets of God have always been persecuted (Acts 7:51f.).[126]

Bröske then focused upon New Testament prophets in particular: whether there are such prophets, when they should appear, and what characterizes their person and work. He demonstrated the existence of New Testament prophets from both testaments: Joel 2:28, 29 and Acts 2:16–18. There are examples of prophets who appear after Jesus returned to heaven, such as Zacharias, Simeon, Hanna, the four daughters of Philipp the evangelist. New Testament prophets come in two kinds. First, there are those who resemble prophets of old, who proclaim God's message of judgment and admonition, and who predict future events and demonstrate miraculous powers. Second, there are those who, like Apollos, are "mighty in the Word of God," who are able to understand and interpret earlier prophecies (I Corinthians 14:29–32). In the New Testament age there are both kinds of prophets.[127]

Bröske offered four "keys" to understanding prophetical literature such as the book of Zechariah. First, one must carefully note the structure of the book; specifically, how many parts, visions and messages it consists of, and the beginning, middle and end of each part. Second, one must observe that each prophet spoke to his own time. Readers

[125] Ibid., pp. 6f.
[126] Ibid., pp. 7–11.
[127] Ibid., pp. 11–16.

must therefore consider what applies to an earlier time, and what to a later time—determining exactly what period of time the spirit of God refers to. Third, a diligent student of God's word can easily see that the prophecies extend to the end of the world, and speak of many trials and troubles. Fortunately, they also speak of great promises to follow. Finally, many of the final prophecies speak not of eternity, but of a period of time just before the eternal state. If one observes these rules, one cannot easily fall into error.[128]

Applying these rules to Zechariah, Bröske found that the book consisted of five different messages or sermons which the prophet had preached to the people at different times. The first sermon is found in Zechariah 1:1–6; the second sermon in Zechariah 1:7 to the end of chapter 6; the third sermon in Zechariah chapters 7 and 8; the fourth in Zechariah chapters 9, 10 and 11; and the fifth in Zechariah chapters 12–14. Each of these sermons has its own beginning, middle and end. The second sermon, on which Bröske intended to speak, could be further subdivided into six parts.[129] Bröske's text, Zechariah chapter 4, is the fourth part of the second sermon. The fourth part includes an introduction to the vision in verse 1, a description of the vision in verses 2 and 3, and an explanation of the vision in verses 4 to 14.[130]

Bröske interpreted the lampstand as representing the church of Christ in the New Testament age. The seven lamps upon the lampstand represent the seven churches of Revelation, chapters one, two and three. These seven churches represent the seven ages or periods of the New Testament church. The gold represents the purity of teaching and life that mark the true church.[131] The two olive trees, to the right and left of the lamp stand, are the two witnesses as explained in Revelation 11:3, 4. These two witnesses represent the persecuted church during the 1,260 years of the age of Antichrist. The witnesses are compared to olive trees because they are anointed as kings and priests in the kingdom of

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[128] Brüßke, *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter*, pp. 18f.

[129] Ibid., pp. 19–21. Zechariah's second sermon has six parts which portray the varied condition of the church of God, from the prophet's time to the end of the world. 1) Zechariah 1:7 to 17, the rider among the myrtle trees, followed by horses of various colours; 2) 1:18 to 2:13, the four horns and the four smiths, and a man with a measuring line; 3) chapter 3, Joshua the high priest standing before the judge; 4) chapter 4, the golden lampstand and the two olive trees; 5) chapter 5, a flying letter and a woman sitting within the ephah; 6) chapter 6, four wagons with their horses going between two mountains, and silver and gold crowns upon the head of Joshua.

[130] Ibid., pp. 21–23.

[131] Ibid., pp. 35f.

the Lord Jesus, and because they spread the oil of the holy spirit and his gifts just as an olive tree drips the sap of its oil.[132] Of the seven candles, or seven churches, five have already given forth their light: Ephesus, Smyrna Pergamon, Thyatira and Sardis. Bröske was certain that the light of Philadelphia was soon to be expected.[133]

Bröske on the Defensive: Responding to Concerns over Beverley's Failed Predictions for 1697

In 1697 Bröske published his *Schlüssel*, or Key, to Thomas Beverely's *Zeit-Register*. He did so at the bidding of friends and supporters who asked Bröske to provide an explanation of obscure and difficult passages in Beverley's work.[134] In the sixteen page foreword to the *Schlüssel*, Bröske appears to backtrack somewhat in his enthusiasm for Beverley's interpretations. He noted that he was initially hesitant to translate the *Zeit-Register* and would gladly have left the task to others. Bröske presented himself as a mere "student," not a teacher, when it came to interpreting prophetic dates and times in scripture. He was like a man in the dark who uses stone and steel, objects at hand, to spark a flame. Bröske insisted that in his 1695 foreword he had withheld his own judgment on Beverley's views; it was therefore unfair to "saddle me with his opinions." He was merely Beverley's translator, not his defender. Bröske said that he had never been in complete agreement with Beverley's timeline or interpretations of the signs of the times. "Especially in the matter of applying his time-line to our day, for important reasons my judgment is that the years are off, although I still believe he is closer than anyone else up till now." Critics of the

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[132] Ibid., pp. 39f.

[133] Ibid., pp. 53f.

[134] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Ein Schlüssel über Herrn Beverleys, eines Englischen Gottes-Lehrers und Predigers in London, Zeit-Register, worinnen alle seine bisher dunkel gebliebene Sätze und Meinungen auf vieler Verlangen und Begehren erläutert und klar in ihrer Ordnunge vom Anfange bis zum Ende vorgestellt werden. Samt einer Antwort auff Hn. Jungmanns Anmerckungen über gedachtes Zeit-Register. Worinnen beständig erwiesen wird, daß diese Anmerckungen die Zeit-Rechnunge nicht so sehr umstossen als bevestigen, und im übrigen entweder ohne Grund von Irrthümern reden oder auch wol gar dem Hn. Beverley Meynungen zuschreiben, die er ganz nicht lehret sondern selbsten als irrig verwirffet; Und also das Zeit-Register mit seinen Zeichen der Zeiten durch diese Anmerckungen im geringsten noch nicht geträncket ist. Mit einer Vorrede Ohne welche der Leser billich nichts von dieser Verfassunge lesen soll. Auff Begehren auffgesetzt Von dem Übersetzer des Zeit-Registers* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1697).

Zeit-Register should therefore keep in mind that their quarrel was with Beverley, not with Bröske.[135]

Such rationalizations do not show Bröske in the best light. Just a couple of years earlier, in 1695, he had gushed with enthusiasm for Beverley and his Spirit-given insights into prophetic truth. In *Die Grosse Welt-Woche* of 1696 Bröske had provided a twenty page defence of Beverley. To now say that in 1695 he had "withheld judgment" on Beverley's views was playing fast and loose with the facts. Bröske was clearly concerned to avoid embarrassment. There was an obvious reason for his new reticence in 1697. Beverley had predicted that the downfall of the beast and the advent of Christ's kingdom would begin in the year 1697, but these events had failed to materialize. On August 28, 1697, Beverley made a public recantation in a meeting house in London before a full congregation of listeners, confessing he had been mistaken in his time calculations. He shifted the kingdom's arrival to the year 1700, blaming the delay on the unbelief of God's people.[136] Bröske now had to face the questions and concerns raised by readers of his German translation of the *Zeit-Register*.

In the *Schlüssel* Bröske discussed some key themes in Beverley's *Zeit-Register*, indicating the scripture texts he relied on and the conclusions he drew from them. Beverley noted the various ways in which Christ is a king. He is an eternal king in the rule he shares with the Father and Holy Spirit. He is a king in the unity of his humanity and deity, now sitting at the right hand of God. And he will remain a king for all eternity after he has handed over the kingdom to the Father. But there is one more sense in which he will be king: when he rules over the whole world in the eyes of all. This is proven from Revelation 17:14 and 19:16.[137] Bröske pointed to Beverley's special love of the prophet Daniel where he found the main numbers and periods of world history. These enabled Beverley to calculate that the number of years from the creation of the world up to his own day brought one to the year 1697. There were, however, seventy-five years of preparation still to come, meaning that the thousand year kingdom would begin in 1772.[138]

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[135] Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser."

[136] Johnston, "Thomas Beverley and the 'Late Great Revolution'," pp. 158, 172–174. Beverley continued to publish confident assertions that Christ's kingdom was imminent.

[137] Bröske, *Ein Schlüssel über Herrn Beverleys Zeit-Register*, pp. 9f., 14–17.

[138] Ibid., pp. 58–67.

Bröske suggested that Beverley owed much of his reasoning to "a famous English scholar," Joseph Meade [sic] and his book, *Key to the Revelation of John* (1627). In an effort to illumine Beverley's teaching, Bröske cited a ten page passage from Mede in which he had assembled the opinions of some Jewish kabbalistic writers on the subject of the Messiah and his coming kingdom.[139] Beverley also followed Mede in arguing that the Day of Judgment included the whole millennial age.[140]

People's doubts and questions about Beverley's calculations continued to confront Bröske. In 1698, in the *Zweite Unterredung* (The Second Dialogue), Bröske included a conversation between two friends, a Politician and a Theologian, on the subject of Beverley's predictions for the year 1697.

> Politician: Mr. Beverley has badly miscalculated. Doubtless no one will ever be caught following his opinions any more.
> Theologian: How so? To judge whether he really erred or not is not an easy thing for most people in our day.
> Politician: How can it be so difficult? The year 1697 has already passed and nothing has become of his predicted coming of the last day.
> Theologian: Wait a minute! Look how you accuse the man! Mr. Beverley never imagined such a thing, much less has he said or written any such thing. Where have you read anything in Beverley, or heard from one of his followers, that he set the last day in the year 1697?
> Politician: . . . It follows from his meaning [in his writings]; they lead to a conclusion that he cannot deny . . . I will give you two of his premises, and you can decide what they mean . . . The first is this: When the thousand year kingdom begins, then the last day also begins. Second: The thousand year kingdom begins in the year 1697.
> Theologian: The second premise is completely wrong, to say that the thousand year kingdom should begin in year 1697 . . . If you would just read page 90 in the *Zeit-Register*, there it is as clear as the sun in the sky that the thousand years begin not in the year 1697, but only in the year 1772.[141]

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[139] Ibid., pp. 36–46. This is the second time that Bröske referred to the work of Joseph Mede. Bröske referred to "Herr Mede" in his commentary on Zechariah 4. See Konrad Brüßke, *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter* (1696), p. 37.

[140] Jue, *Heaven upon Earth*, p. 164.

[141] Conrad Bröske, *Zweyte Unterredung zwischen einem Politico und Theologo, von Dem jetzigen Zustand der Kirchen Darinnen Untersuchet und gezeiget wird was sich heutiges Tages bereits vor Kennzeichen in der Kirchen hervor thun, Darauß Man schliessen kan, wie das herrliche Reich Christi (zwar noch nicht an sich selbst und in seinem volligen Glantze doch) in seiner Vorbereitung würcklich eingetretten seye* (1698), pp. 4–7.

Bröske remained largely supportive of Beverley and his imminent millennial hopes.

In 1700 Bröske went on the offensive, publishing a small booklet entitled, *Die Nach des Profeten Zacharias Weissagung, Zu erwartende häuffige Abdanckung Der Schlimmen Prediger* (The Prophecy of the Prophet Zechariah on the coming Mass Resignation of the awful Preachers).[142] It was based upon Zechariah 13:4, 5:

> The time will come when the prophets will be ashamed of their visions when they prophesy, and will not put on a black garment in order to deceive. But they must say, "I am no prophet, but a tiller of soil…"

Bröske observed that one consequence of the spread of the gospel would be that false teachers would be revealed and wiped out. Some would repent of their ways and follow the truth, and would set aside the clerical garb they had worn to impress others. Bröske was confident that such a rooting out of false clergy was not far off; indeed, it was already under way.[143] He further reflected that "anyone who pays attention observes a great movement among the Jews, Christians and heathen."

> A large number of teachers among the Mohammadans are no longer satisfied with Mohammad's dreams, but seek after better-founded truths, such as the trinity in God, the divinity of the Messiah in his humanity, and the future judgment of Christ…Many with these opinions have become leading Christians in the churches and courts…[144]

In conclusion, Bröske asked, What will become of thousands among Christian preachers who have sought to impress their hearers with the use of foreign languages, who published postills of their sermons not to edify but to make money, and who preached with learning but without the spirit? Clearly they will experience God's judgment, or will repent and put aside their garments of deceit.[145]

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[142] Conrad Bröske, *Die Nach des Profeten Zacharias Weissagung, Zu erwartende häuffige Abdanckung Der Schlimmen Prediger, kurtz entworffen. Zach. XIII. v. 4. 5.* (Gedruckt im Jahr 1700).

[143] Ibid., pp. 7–9.

[144] Ibid., pp. 10f.

[145] Ibid., pp. 14f.

Bröske's Interpretation of Prophetical Literature after 1700

In 1703 Bröske published his reflections on the book of Revelation entitled, *Schlüssel zu der Offenbarung Johannis* (Key to the Revelation of John). There are several noteworthy features of Bröske's interpretation of this book. *First,* Bröske claimed in his short foreword to the reader that it was due to popular demand that he had undertaken to publish his views on *The Apocalypse.*

> I am hereby taking opportunity to fulfill the wish and request made known to me that I bring my meditations onto paper…and through print make them available, thereby giving to my listeners opportunity to go over again through reading what they will have already heard, and serving others far afield who will not be able to hear my explanations, yet would gladly know them.[146]

Bröske evidently had an eager audience for sermons on such themes, not only within his own congregation but outside it as well. This Philadelphian theology of Jane Leade, John Pordage and Thomas Beverley had reached a peak of influence in Hesse by the year 1700. The impact of German translations of their works is evident in the second half of the 1690s decade, when many Pietist publications began to concern themselves with "the significance of the Apocalypse and with end-time calculations."[147]

Second, Bröske wrote from a pastoral perspective, with the practical needs of his Offenbach congregation in mind. He referred to his readers as "amateur devotees" [*Lieb-habern*] whom he was glad to serve through publishing his "*Schlüssel*" or key to aid them in understanding the book of Revelation. Bröske sought to tailor his work to his readers' needs and to present things "as clearly as possible." Two features of his work reflect this concern. First, along with the usual commentary on the biblical text, Bröske included a *Tafel* and *Kupffer*, Table and Engraving, so that readers could easily see the whole content of John's Revelation at a glance. "I wanted to render this special service to amateur devotees of this key [by providing] the prefixed table and engraving so that they

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[146] Conrad Brösske, "Geliebter Leser," *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis, Sampt Einer Taffel und Kupffer, Worinnen die gantze Offenbahrung in die richtigste und deutlichste Ordnung gestellet worden, Durch Conrad Brößken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Offenbach am Mayn: Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy, 1703).

[147] Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," pp. 405f., 409; Schrader, *Literatur-produktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 131f.

might have a model and be able to look at the complete contents of the whole *Revelation* at a glance so to speak."[148] Second, Bröske divided his commentary into three distinct parts, suited to the differing degrees of difficulty and detail that his readership might desire. The first part of the *Schlüssel* (Par. 1–35, pp. 1–12) was intended for those "in a hurry to have a general idea of the book"; the second part (Par. 36–90, pp. 12–40) provided a detailed justification for Bröske's interpretation and arrangement of the book; and the third part (Par. 91–End, pp. 40–50) related the individual parts to the whole.[149] Bröske's key offered precisely the interpretive insight his listeners desired:

> This is the correct key to the noble mysteries described in [John's] book, without which it is impossible to understand such a secret and hidden prophecy…If this way [of interpretation] is rightly known then someone who has had only limited practice in prophetic writings can easily understand to what this or that event belongs, what fulfills this prophecy and what in it yet remains to be fulfilled…None of the godless will understand but the wise will understand.[150]

A proper understanding of John's book was the mark of whether one was on the side of the Spirit and the soon-coming Philadelphian kingdom, or not. Many in Christendom brought their own human learning and bias to their reading of the Bible, in contrast to those who were taught by God's own Spirit.

Third, Bröske's interpretation of the Revelation focused on his discovery of what he considered "the *Ordnung* [arrangement or system] which the Spirit of God uses in the book." According to Bröske's interpretation of John's system, the Revelation presented "the whole course of the New Testament age." John was inspired to see future events stretching from Christ's resurrection to the Last Judgment at the end of time. Using Bröske's key one could discern "all the events which by turns have come to pass till now in fulfillment of this prophecy, compared

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[148] Bröske, "Geliebter Leser," *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannes*. The sub-title to Bröske's work reads as follows: …*Sampt einer Taffel und Kupffer Worinnen die gantze Offenbahrung in die richtigste und deutlichste Ordnung gestellet worden* (Key to the Revelation of John together with a Table and Engraving in which the whole Revelation has been portrayed in the true and clear order). The publisher noted that the work included 54 pages and a folded table (54 Seiten und Falttafel). Schrader, *Literatur-produktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 154.

[149] Bröske, "Geliebter Leser," *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannes*.

[150] Bröske, *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis*, pp. 1f.

with their symbols by which they are signified."[151] Bröske understood the structure of John's *Revelation* to consist of two "Books" of prophecies "which begin at the same time, continue together and end at the same time." The first book, or "Church Prophecy," consisted of the seven letters to the seven churches in Asia Minor in chapters 2 and 3. The second book, or the "Book Prophecy," followed in chapters 4 through 22.[152] Both books covered the same ground but used different symbols and descriptions.

Bröske interpreted the Church Prophecy and the seven ages of the church as follows:

1) The letter to the angel of the church in *Ephesus*, Rev. 2:1–7, described the apostolic church in its first purity and later deviation and departure from this purity. This age extended from Christ's ascension to the year 303 A.D. and the persecutions of Diocletian.
2) The second letter to the angel of the church in *Smyrna*, Rev. 2:8–11, presented the situation of the church from the year 303 until 437 A.D. It referred equally to the severe persecutions of Christians under heathenism and their deliverance under Christian emperors, as well as to the decline of Christianity to all sorts of offices, titles and groups in which Satan established his schools where mere garbage was taught, and which persecuted righteous Christians.
3) The third letter to the angel of the church in *Pergamon*, Rev. 2:12–17, included the situation of the church from the year 437 until the twelfth century, between 1100 and 1200 A.D. This is the period when Antichrist sits on his throne and rules. The poor little hut of the righteous churches had to go along in sackcloth and flee into the desert because the man of sin and child of perdition were set up in the temple of God, which Satan had established as his throne.[153]
4) The fourth letter to the angel of the church of *Thyatira*, Rev. 2:18–29, represented the situation of the church from the twelfth century up to 1517. It revealed how during this time witnesses and confessors of the truth began once again to come forward publicly with their confession. This included the Waldensians, Albigensians and Bohemians and others, whose testimony to the truth became greater from day to day.

[151] Ibid., p. 1.
[152] Ibid., pp. 10–12.
[153] Ibid., pp. 38, 41.

5) The fifth letter to the angel of the church of *Sardis*, Rev. 3:1–6, extended from 1517 to about 1700, and described the Reformation period. During this time there was a great renewal of doctrine, and the dead church was brought to life again. Yet this church's life did not conform to its doctrine, since the members still remained in a condition of death. But there were a few who did walk before God pure and blameless, in life as well as in doctrine.
6) The sixth letter to the angel of the church of *Philadelphia*, Rev. 3:7–13, pertained to an age of the church that would begin sometime after the year 1700. It had two parts: the beginnings of preparation for Christ's kingdom, and its full glory and rule which would continue for a thousand years.
7) The seventh letter to the angel of the church of *Laodicea*, Rev. 3:14–22, refers to the release of Satan after the thousand years, and his final judgment and destruction. This is followed by the kingdom of eternity with a new heaven and a new earth, and believers are restored to their first love and devotion, resembling Adam in paradise.[154]

Fourth, Bröske's end-time interpretation introduced some distinctive notions that stand in contrast to the apocalyptic expectations of Martin Luther. Compared to Luther's passion to connect the figures of John's revelation with specific persons and institutions, Bröske was more restrained. He believed that the Philadelphian church would be comprised of a remnant from all Christian parties, including Roman Catholics. His references to the Antichrist were often vague. In interpreting Rev. 13:11, for example, he wrote: "The other beast of chap. 13 v. 11–18 is the clergy of the main Antichrist who with their pronouncements and hypocrisy have raised him to his throne and kept him there till now."[155] Bröske's disappointment with the attainments of the Reformation period is indicated by identifying it with the church of Sardis. For him it had failed because among the Lutherans and Reformed "life does not at all agree with doctrine, since the members of this church ever still remain in a condition of death." Bröske noted that in the sixteenth century there were only a small few who walked before God "pure and blameless in their life as well as in doctrine."[156]

[154] Ibid., pp. 36, 40–43.
[155] Ibid., p. 48.
[156] Ibid., pp. 41f.

Bröske's explanation of the two witnesses was general, not specific: "The witnesses in sackcloth in 11:3–14 testify to the inwardly poor condition of the church and its devastation but also to a measure of restoration of its sanctuary over time."[157]

Compared to Luther's expectation of the imminent end of the world, Bröske's calendar was vastly different. He saw his own era as the time of preparation for the Philadelphian millennial age. Bröske looked to a new age of the Spirit, a restoration within history of Christ's true church. Bröske tied John's vision to an earthly fulfillment. In summary, it is clear that while for Luther the Revelation was a book that vindicated God's judgment, for Bröske it was a book about the triumph of the Philadelphian church and a book of vindication and hope for the Philadelphian movement with which he identified.

Conclusion

Conrad Bröske's mentors in influencing his prophetic turn were Thomas Beverley and Jane Leade. By late 1694 Bröske had aligned himself with the writings and ideas of Beverley as an enthusiastic, but not uncritical, proponent of Beverley's views and general scheme of millennial expectation. The key influencing factors were Bröske's brief meeting with Beverley, his reading and translation of Beverley's works, the encouragement of his brother Johann Hermann, and events surrounding the two Turkish baptisms in Offenbach. By 1698 Bröske was also promoting the works of Jane Leade. Bröske established himself as a leading figure within the German Philadelphian movement before Horch, Reitz and Arnold arrived on the scene. Under Bröske's influence, Offenbach became the centre for the growing Philadelphian movement within Germany.

Bröske's chiliastic writings reveal the heart of the man and his complex piety of renewal. They offer a window into the circumstances and themes of Bröske's Philadelphian mindset and the evolution of his millennial consciousness. In 1692 he introduced *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ* on a somewhat apologetic note. Bröske confessed to some uncertainty in dealing with the subject of the Antichrist, assuring readers that Biblical prophecy was not his sole preoccupation. In 1695 Bröske enthusiastically

[157] Ibid., p. 47.

endorsed Beverley as an interpreter of prophetic scripture. By the aid of God's spirit, said Bröske, Beverley was able to discern in scripture the timeline of events from the beginning to the end of time—"the like of which has never before been seen." In 1696 Bröske defended Beverley against those who criticized his reading of the signs of Christ's soon-coming millennial kingdom. He thought that Beverley was probably right in arguing that the seventy weeks of Daniel ended in 37 A.D., and that the 1,260 "days" extend from the year 437 A.D. to 1697 A.D. Bröske wrestled with whether he too possessed the gift of interpreting prophecy, desiring nothing more than to share in Christ's gift of spiritual understanding. In 1697 Bröske was shaken when Beverley's prophesied kingdom did not materialize, but his disappointment was only temporary. In 1700 Bröske remained confident that the kingdom was imminent and a rooting out of false clergy was not far off; indeed, it was already under way. Bröske pronounced God's judgment upon those who preached not to edify but to make money, and who preached with learning but without the spirit of God. In the *Schlüssel* of 1703, Bröske continued to teach that his own era was the time of preparation for the Philadelphian millennial age.

Bröske's millenarian publications were largely confined to a ten year period between 1694 and 1704. After this, Bröske made no further references to Thomas Beverley. Bröske's days as an enthusiastic Philadelphian were behind him. If not entirely forsaken, his millennial hopes had been severely tested and moderated.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EIGHT DIALOGUES BETWEEN A POLITICIAN AND A THEOLOGIAN, 1698–1700: THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LITERARY GENRE

In 1698 Conrad Bröske began writing his most ambitious literary work, an eight part fictional dialogue. Part I was entitled, *A Dialogue/Conversation between a Politician and a Theologian concerning recently published Explanations of the Book of Daniel, the Revelation of John and other Prophecies*.[1] Two friends, a Politician and a Theologian, happen to meet and fall into conversation on current events and recent religious publications. The Politician observes that "a short time ago some books were published which speak of great changes soon to come, whereby in the church and the state the Pope, Emperor and Kings will be removed from their thrones." When the Theologian asks about the identity of those who write such things, the Politician replies:

> There are indeed many of them. One need only consider recently published works, some in Latin, some in German, some in the French, English and Dutch languages, and a great many explanations of John's Revelation, of the prophet Daniel, and of other prophecies translated into high German, and even the recently published *Zeit-Register* of Beverley translated from English into high German.[2]

This brief exchange offers testimony to the burgeoning literary culture within German Pietism at the time, much of it focused upon eschatology and millennial hopes. The exchange suggests that Bröske's fictional dialogues arose, in part, as a further attempt by Bröske to defend the writings of Beverley. The eight *Unterredungen* (Dialogues) functioned as

[1] Conrad Bröske, *Eine Unterredung Zwischen einem Politico und theologo Über die letztere herauß-gegebene Erklärungen Daniels, der H. Offenbahrung und anderer Weissagungen mehr. Worinnen untersuchet wird ob diese Bücher nicht vor aufrührische Schrifften zu halten und deren Urhebere als Auffrührere und Friedens-Stöhrer zu straffen seynd* (1698). In five of the dialogues, the words *Unterredung* and *Gespräch* both appear on the title page, suggesting Bröske used them interchangeably: "… *Von einem unpartheyischen Hörer dieser Gespräche vorgestellet.*"

[2] Bröske, *Eine Unterredung Zwischen einem Politico und theologo*, pp. 4, 6f.

an entertaining Philadelphian catechism, with the Politician playing the role of the sceptical but inquisitive Burger and the Theologian acting as the skilled teacher.

The dialogue genre was a popular one in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially among Enlightenment thinkers and German Pietist writers. The dialogue offered a way to introduce themes of renewal and change that were central to the experience and hopes of many in the late seventeenth century. In his *Unterredungen*, Bröske used the dialogues to promote the message and program of Philadelphian millennialism.

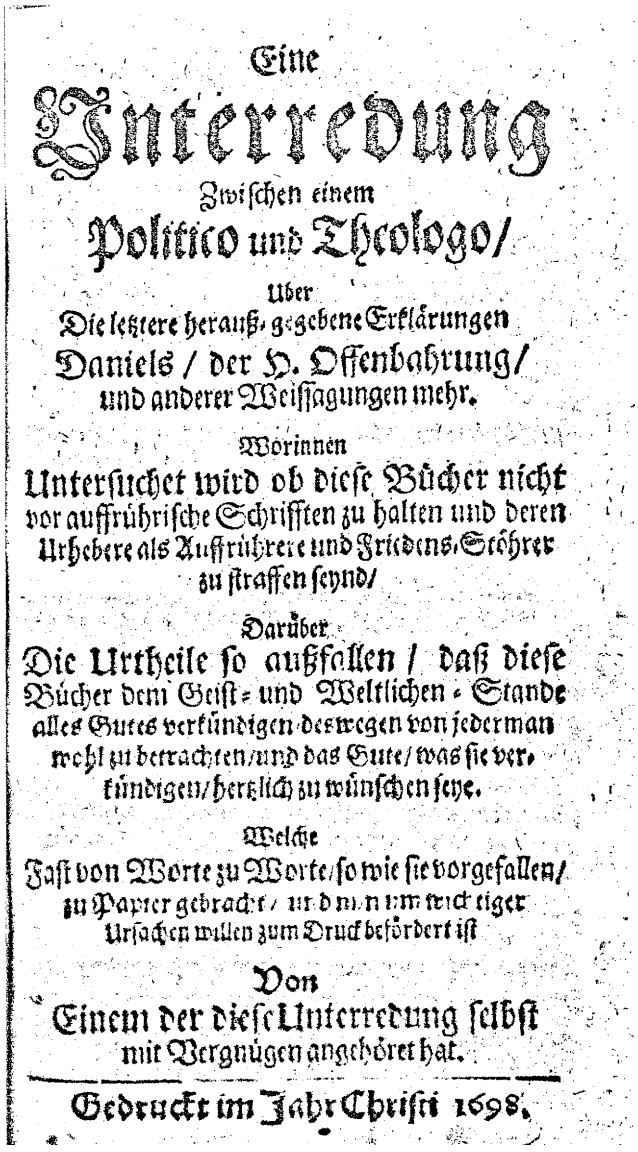
The Literary and Religious Use of the Dialogue Genre in Late Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Germany

The dialogue is one of the oldest literary forms.[3] Classic examples of the genre include the *Dialogues of Plato* (fourth century B.C.), Erasmus' *Colloquies* (1516) and Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1528). Erasmus used Latin colloquies or dialogues to improve the Latin skills of young students and to raise their awareness of important issues of faith.[4] Some seventeenth and eighteenth century instances of the dialogue include Galileo's *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems* (1632), Gotthold Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1779)[5] and David Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779). The dialogue has often been used in modern times to advance philosophical discussions. Indeed, it has been

[3] Craig R. Thompson, ed., "Introduction," *Ten Colloquies* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), p. xxi. The dialogue represents "one of the oldest of literary modes in prose."

[4] Thompson, "Introduction," pp. xxi, xxiii. Erasmus was pleased that his colloquies "made better Latinists and better persons."

[5] Lessing's best known play, *Nathan der Weise*, takes place in Jerusalem in the twelfth century during the time of the Crusades. The sultan Saladin challenges the rich merchant Nathan to tell him which of the three religions—Islam, Judaism or Christianity—is best. Nathan answers that the religions are like three beautiful rings that cannot be compared. One scholar observes: "Im Verlaufe des Gespräches korrigieren sich beide gegenseitig, befreien sich gegenseitig von Vorurteilen, die jeder zwangsläufig in folge von Subjektivität, Erziehung, Tradition etc. mit sich bringt. Daher ist Vorurteilslosigkeit das immer wiederkehrende Leitmotiv aller Dialoge Nathans. Daher enden auch alle Dialoge Nathans in Freundschaft. Daher haben alle Gespräche Nathans zugleich für seine Mitmenschen eine erzieherische—sokratische—Funktion, indem sie verworrene Begriffe zurechtrücken." See Timotheus Will, *Lessings dramatisches Gedicht Nathan der Weise und die Philosophie der Aufklärungszeit* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999), p. 91.



Eine
Unterredung
Zwischen einem
Politico und Theologo/
Uber
Die letztere herauß-gegebene Erklärungen
Daniels / der H. Offenbahrung/
und anderer Weissagungen mehr.
Worinnen
Untersuchet wird ob diese Bücher nicht
vor auffrührische Schrifften zu halten und deren
Urhebere als Auffrührere und Friedens-Stöhrer
zu straffen seynd/
Darüber
Die Urtheile so außfallen / daß diese
Bücher dem Geist- und Weltlichen-Stande
alles Gutes verkündigen deswegen von jederman
wohl zu betrachten/und das Gute/ was sie ver-
kündigen/herzlich zu wünschen seye.
Welche
Fast von Worte zu Worte/so wie sie vorgefallen/
zu Papier gebracht / und nun um wichtiger
Ursachen willen zum Druck befördert ist
Von
Einem der diese Unterredung selbst
mit Vergnügen angehöret hat.
Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1698.

Fig. 6. Title page of Bröske's Dialog between a politician and a theologian: *Eine Unterredung zwischen einem Politico und Theologo* (1698).

described as "a genre hybrid of literature and philosophy." "It is both a dialectical method whose goal is the revelation of truth and, at the same time, the performance of the method in writing."[6]

Hans-Gerhard Winter pointed to the richness and popularity of the dialogue genre in Enlightenment Germany.[7] The dialogue was well-suited to German Enlightenment culture; it reflected the eighteenth century Burger class and its love of conversation among "independent, equal, free and reasonable citizens."[8] The rise of a middle class reading public formed the sociological precondition of literary conversations and their social function in eighteenth century European society.[9]

> The formation of a new reading public, the change in the situation of authors reflected in a new understanding of their role, and the growing appreciation for the genre of the *Dialogue*, developed in parallel and contemporary fashion. This parallel occurrence was not accidental.[10]

The new eighteenth century Burger class included Jurists, Pastors and officers, doctors and professors, representing the learned or educated Burger.[11]

While the ideal dialogue included equal partners and freedom of speech in a tolerant climate, this ideal was not always achieved—neither in literature nor in life.[12] German Burgers in the eighteenth century engaged in a free reasoned dialogue concerning their new understanding of the world, yet found themselves in an unequal dialogue with

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[6] Christie V. McDonald, *The Dialogue of Writing: Essays in Eighteenth-Century French Literature* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), pp. xii, 11. "Dialogue…is both the communication of a conceptual message and, at the same time, the organization of that communication in dramatic form."

[7] Hans-Gerhard Winter, *Dialog und Dialogroman in der Aufklärung* (Darmstadt: Thesen Verlag, 1974), p. 265. "Ein häufig bemerktes, aber kaum untersuchtes Charakteristikum der Literatur der deutschen Aufklärung ist ihr Dialogreichtum." Another work that investigates this genre is: Rosmarie Zeller, *Spiel und Konversation im Barock; Untersuchungen zu Harsdörffers "Gesprächspielen"* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1974). Especially note pp. 60–76 and the bibliography on pp. 188–194.

[8] Winter, *Dialog und Dialogroman*, p. 265.

[9] Ibid., pp. 197, 265. "Unsere Arbeit…hat die Analyse über die Frage der Verbindung der Form mit bestimmten Inhalten und Gehalten hinaus bis zu dem Punkt vorangetrieben, an dem sich die Frage nach den soziologischen Vorbedingungen literarischer Konversationen und deren Funktion im 18. Jahrhundert gestellt hat." (p. 197).

[10] Ibid., p. 27.

[11] Ibid., p. 28. The new class was "the dynamic element in the social structure of the eighteenth century while at the same time [initially] without political influence and of comparatively small economic strength."

[12] Ibid., p. 197. "Literary dialogues portray not only successful communication [of equals], but also the hindrances and breakdowns in communication."

established authorities who demanded simple acquiescence.[13] The dialogue genre was useful for highlighting the gap between society as it was and society as it could become. Society shapes literature, and literature shapes society. The dialogue thus became essential to programs for social change.[14] Enlightenment authors employed the form of *Gespräch* or dialogue "in the framework of a moral-philosophical-social educational program"[15] on behalf of the rising Burger class. Winter concluded:

> Literature in the eighteenth century is chiefly a medium and a forum of cultural emancipation of the [new middle class] . . . As the most important medium of communication, literature helped to represent and expand the new middle class public.[16]

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the dialogue represented, mirrored and promoted the dawning sense of religious freedom as well as economic and social freedom and respectability.

The dialogue was popular as well among religious writers at this time as a way to address pressing religious questions. Between 1670 and 1725 a multitude of dialogues appeared under such headings as *Gespräch, Colloquium, Unterredung, Discours, Dialogue, Entretien, Discutieren.* The genre was often shaped by a view of Christian discussion that sought to rise above confessional rivalries and to express Christian values of peace and edification. One such treatise, contemporary with Bröske's, reveals something of the religious climate and use of the genre of dialogue: the anonymous 1698 work, *Theophili und Constantini Vertrautes und freundliches Gespräch* (An Intimate and Friendly Conversation between Theophilus and Constantine concerning the present-day Pietists and Anti-Pietists).[17] It may be the work of Spener's disciple, Christoph Matthäus Seidel

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[13] Ibid., p. 197. "The reason for this gap between idea and practice consisted in the fact that the dialogue form and Burgers themselves (including the educated and capitalist businessmen) were still affected by the hierarchical structure of society, especially as the Burgers gradually increased their role economically and ideologically within the German absolute state and brought about gradual change within it."

[14] Ibid., pp. 197f. "Was Krauss für den dichterischen Text als ganzen postuliert, vermag eine historisch orientierte Analyse einer seiner wichtigsten Darbietungsformen, des Dialogs, ebenfalls sichtbar zu machen: nämlich die Gesellschaft und Geselligkeit abbildende, wie bildende Funktion literarischer Werke."

[15] Ibid., p. 265.

[16] Ibid., p. 29.

[17] *Theophili und Constantini Vertrautes und freundliches Gespräch, Bey unvermutheter Zusammenkunft in einer bekandten Stadt von denen heutigen Pietisten und Anti-Pietisten durch einen guten Freunde mitgetheilet* (1698).

(1668–1723). Within a twelve month period Seidel published three other works using the same *Gespräch* genre.[18]

In the plot of the *Vertrautes und freundliches Gespräch*, Theophilus and Constantine meet in Frankfurt, Theophilus newly arrived from travels to Berlin, Halle, and Kassel. Constantine asks if the reports he has heard in Frankfurt are true, namely that "in Saxony and above all in Brandenburg the so-called Pietists distinguish themselves strongly and have a strong following." More pointedly he asks, "Are they such seductive and deceiving teachers as many people so loudly report? Who is the author of such (if I may say it) sects?"[19] Throughout the conversation Constantine persistently raises the kinds of questions and concerns that reflect the critical mindset of Orthodox Lutheranism at that time. Theophilus, however, is in awe of Spener and Francke and other Pietist writers, honouring them as "some of the most famous theologians of our day, who produce great and learned writings."[20]

> Believe me Constantine, most of the opposition that arises from these anti-Pietists is false chatter… Remember the proverb, "One quickly falls into lying when one relies on hear-say"… Don't believe everything you hear, especially what such partisan people have to say. They represent things in such a way that if you did not know better, you could easily be deceived.[21]

Theophilus encourages Constantine to find more reliable information than mere hear-say evidence in deciding matters relating to Pietism.

This dialogue offers some useful points of comparison and contrast with Bröske's dialogues. First, this 1698 treatise is an exact contemporary of Bröske's, and reflects the intensity and hardening of theological positions over Pietism in the late 1690s. Second, the treatise skilfully reflects both sides of the controversy over Pietism. Using the genre of *Gespräch*, the writing ostensibly gives equal time to Orthodox criticisms

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[18] "Seidel (Christoph Matthäus)" in *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig: 1751), col. 483. Having studied in Leipzig he became a Lutheran pastor, and served in Wolckenburg near Altenburg from 1691 to 1700. The first of his three published dialogues at this time was, *Lutherus redivivus. Martin Luthers hinterlassene schrifftliche Erklärungen* (Halle: Salfeld, 1697). The work consisted of thirty dialogues, using many original citations from Luther and Spener. The second work was entitled: *Christliches und erbauliches Gespräch* (Halle: Salfeld, Renger, 1698). The third work was *Christ-lutherisch Gespräch von der Prediger Beichte und Beichtstuhl, mit Speners Vorrede* (1698).

[19] *Theophili und Constantini*, p. 2.

[20] Ibid., p. 3.

[21] Ibid., pp. 3, 12.

through the mouth of Constantine, and to Pietist arguments through the mouth of Theophilus. The work reflects the strategy of many political authorities of the day who sought to promote mutual tolerance.[22] Although the treatise, in the end, is positive towards Pietism, the critical, questioning speeches by Constantine are far longer than the speeches of Theophilus in defence. Many of Constantine's probing questions are left unanswered.[23] Bröske's *Unterredung* is more overtly biased in favour of Pietist thinking, and not nearly as ambivalent. Finally, the *Vertrautes und freundliches Gespräch* ranges over Pietist activities not only in Frankfurt and Halle, but also in Berlin, Brandenburg, Saxony and Kassel. The treatise offers valuable insights into the general state of Orthodox-Pietist controversy in the late 1690s. Bröske's work is less broad in scope. It is clear, then, that Bröske was part of a wider literary phenomenon; many of his contemporaries were appropriating the dialogue genre in an effort to promote understanding and tolerance in a contentious age.

Conrad Bröske's Unterredungen Zwischen einem Politico und Theologo *(1698–1700)*

In the years 1698 to 1700, Conrad Bröske published a collection of eight dialogues or *Unterredungen*, each averaging about 32 pages in length.[24] Both the author and publisher were anonymous when they first appeared, although Bröske later acknowledged them as his in a 1710 comprehensive listing of his writings.[25] The dialogues all have the same two characters, a Politician and a Theologian, who happen to meet on the street and who immediately take up their conversation where they

[22] Martin Brecht, "Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen," in Martin Brecht, ed., *Geschichte des Pietismus. Bd. 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 338, 341, 361f., 366.

[23] *Theophili und Constantini*, p. 24.

[24] The first five *Unterredungen* were published in 1698. The sixth appeared in 1699, and the seventh and eighth in 1700. The eight dialogues were all published in Offenbach. See Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus: Johann Henrich Reitz' "Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen" und ihr geschichtlicher Kontext* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), p. 158.

[25] Conrad Bröske, "Brief, 10te April, 1710" Ms Hass 103, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel. In the listing, *Acht Unterredungen* appear under the heading, "Andere viele Scharteken."

had left off, with an "impartial" observer recording their words for the reader. What was said of Erasmus also holds true of Bröske: his dialogues "present in dramatic, informal dress the ideas [he] had already published, or was later to publish, in his more formal writings."[26] This investigation first considers historical and literary features of Bröske's *Unterredungen*. It then examines ways in which they functioned to mirror and represent, as well as to instruct and educate, late seventeenth century German society.

Historical and Literary Features of Bröske's Eight Dialogues

Some idea of the setting and motives that influenced Bröske as he wrote the eight *Unterredungen* can be gained from the various sub-titles that he created for them. For the first he added the subtitle, "concerning recently published explanations of Daniel, Revelation, and other prophecies; in which it is investigated whether these books ought not to be considered inflammatory and their authors punished as rebellious and disturbers of the peace." For the second *Unterredung*, he added: "concerning the present condition of the churches, in which it is investigated and demonstrated by what features the church distinguishes itself in our day; from which one can determine in what measure the preparations for the glorious kingdom of Christ may have already come to pass." For the third *Unterredung*: "concerning the first step of preparation for the glorious kingdom of Christ, in which is investigated and demonstrated what already has been fulfilled, and what according to God's word remains to be fulfilled. At the same time, the statements of the Philadelphian Society in England are set forth…" For the fourth *Unterredung*: "concerning the six additional steps of preparation for the glorious kingdom of Christ, in which is investigated and demonstrated that these six steps lead up to the universal resurrection of the dead, and how everything will unfold, one after another, up to that day, according to the prophetic word of the Lord."[27]

For the fifth *Unterredung* he added: "concerning world affairs, in which is now investigated and demonstrated in a general way what signs of

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[26] Thompson, "Introduction," pp. xxiif.

[27] See the title pages for the first four *Unterredungen*: *Acht Unterredungen Zwischen einem Politico und Theologo, Über die letztere herauß-gegebene Erklärungen Daniels, der H. Offenbahrung und anderer Weissagungen mehr. Von einem unpartheyischen Hörer dieser Gespräche vorgestellet* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1698–1700).

improvement and what signs of preparation for the glorious kingdom of Christ distinguish themselves. Presented by an impartial witness to this conversation."[28] For the sixth *Unterredung* he added: "concerning world affairs, in which is demonstrated in some particulars what signs of improvement and what signs of preparations for the glorious kingdom of Christ distinguish themselves." For the seventh *Unterredung*: "concerning the class of those who rule in the glorious kingdom of Christ. In which is investigated and demonstrated that this doctrine contains within itself nothing suspicious, much less dangerous, towards present day worldly rulers." For the eighth *Unterredung*: "concerning world affairs, in which judgment and proof are offered regarding present day thoughts in Europe concerning war, and how far they are consistent with the preparation for the glorious kingdom of Christ."[29]

Two circumstances were uppermost in Bröske's mind as he wrote the *Unterredungen*. He was concerned about the backlash from Orthodox Lutherans and Calvinists against works such as Beverley's *Zeit-Register* and their accusation that he was promoting seditious and dangerous views. Johann Benedikt Carpzov, for example, compared Pietist millennial hopes with the uprising in Münster in terms of potential for civil disturbance.[30] Should the authorities become convinced that Philadelphians posed a danger to society, their religious freedom could be threatened or curtailed. In England the 1689 *Act of Toleration* guaranteed freedom of assembly and speech to religious minorities; they had rights that were protected by the state. In the German empire there was no such protection. *The Peace of Westphalia* of 1648 recognized three confessions, Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist; other forms of religious belief and practice were still legally forbidden throughout the empire.[31]

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[28] *Fünffte Unterredung zwischen einem Politico und Theologo, von den Welt-Händeln. Darinnen Jetzt nur ins gemein untersuchet und gezeiget wird, welche Zeichen der Verbesserung und was vor Vorbereitungen Zum herrlichen Reiche Christi sich Darinnen hervorthun. Abermahl von einem unpartheyischen Beywohner dieser Gespräche vorgestellet* (1698).

[29] See the title pages for the last four *Unterredungen*: *Acht Unterredungen Zwischen einem Politico und Theologo, Über die letztere herauß-gegebene Erklärungen Daniels, der H. Offenbahrung und anderer Weissagungen mehr. Von einem unpartheyischen Hörer dieser Gespräche vorgestellet* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1698–1700).

[30] Johann Benedikt Carpzov, *Ausführliche Beschreibung des Unfugs, welchen die Pietisten zu Halberstadt im Monat Decembri 1692, umb die heilige Weyhnachts-Zeit gestifftet* (1693).

[31] Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht, ed., *Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), pp. 108f. The North German Confederation passed a law on July 3, 1869 on the subject of freedom of confession, "Bekenntnisfreiheit." Freedom of the press and rule of law were covered in the "Strafgesetzbuch des Norddeutschen Bundes," of May 31,

The *Unterredungen* also reflect Bröske's concern with reading the signs of the times, and encouraging his readers to be ready for the preparation stage of Christ's millennial kingdom. He looked for signs in church and world affairs that might indicate "what already has been fulfilled, and according to God's word remains to be fulfilled," and "in what measure the glorious kingdom of Christ may have already come to pass in its preparations."[32]

With these circumstances and concerns in mind, Bröske's twofold purpose in writing the *Unterredungen* was to plead for religious freedom and an impartial spirit in addressing the religious differences of the day, and to present a convincing case for the German Philadelphian vision. The first dialogue begins with the issue of whether Philadelphian literature should be considered inflammatory and the authors be imprisoned. The fifth and seventh dialogues address "blind religious zeal"[33] and the tendency of many to condemn others "with all kinds of words and violence."[34] These practical concerns prompted Bröske to promote a mood of tolerant acceptance of the new religious movements in Germany at the time.

On the matter of reading the signs of the times, Bröske went beyond Spener in pointing to two sources of evidence which indicated that the kingdom was fast approaching: the dramatic spread of religious knowledge, and the rise of the Philadelphian church.[35] This church consisted of "all those who believe and hold the hope of better times according to God's word…and who publicly honour and teach their hope with open confession and who, with as much as is in them, build the path to inner and outer peace." "I speak of the light that not everyone can see and comprehend right now…which promotes Philadelphia."[36]

Several literary features of these dialogues helped in promoting Bröske's Philadelphian message: the dialogue form itself as a way of coming to common understanding, the characters of the Politician and

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1870. See Ernst Rudolf Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsdokumente, Bd. 2, 1851–1900, 3. Aufl.* (Stuttgart: 1986), p. 314. I wish to thank the late Frank Eyck for these references. On the issue of religious freedom and toleration in the German empire, see: Frank Eyck, *Religion and Politics in German History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 368–372, and Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), pp. 293–306.

[32] See the sub-titles to the *Zweite* and *Dritte Unterredungen*.

[33] Bröske, *Funffte Unterredung*, pp. 36f.

[34] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, p. 20.

[35] Bröske, *Eine Unterredung*, p. 11.

[36] Bröske, *Zweyte Unterredung*, p. 17.

the Theologian, and the use of humour. The dialogue genre ably fulfills Bröske's purpose of promoting mutual understanding and tolerance in German society. Over the course of the eight dialogues there are numerous instances of disagreement, misunderstanding, and miscommunication, all ultimately resolved by a patient exchange of ideas and commitment to the other's well-being. In the fifth dialogue the Politician and Theologian discuss the proper Christian attitude to constituted authority. The Politician's confusion and doubts gradually resolve into agreement with the Theologian, with the Theologian remarking at one point: "You have taken the words right out of my mouth, for you offer the exact interpretation that I would have given."[37]

For Bröske, the Philadelphian approach to dialogue was one which saw differences as an opportunity for mutual learning and edification. Bröske described the dramatic contrast in kind between the confessional approach to differences, and the approach among those marked by true Christian love:

> The difference is that between day and night. Among those [confessional Christians] quarreling and force rule, with each wishing to compel the other to accept his opinion or religion. Among these [Christians with true wisdom] love rules, with each eager to learn from the other. Among the first, the attitude is, "confess as I do, or get packing." But with the second, "let us seek to edify one another and together arrive at the proper ground of truth…" In the first instance, one party wants to be in sole control of rights and power, as if truth ruled sitting on the throne with them; in the second, all members tune their own strings and listen one after the other, as one tunes higher and another lower, until all strings have the right pitch…Revelation 14:2,3.[38]

The Philadelphian approach is amply demonstrated in Bröske's eight dialogues.

On the choice of characters in the dialogues, the question arises as to why Bröske should have chosen a Politician as one of the two dialogue partners. There are a couple of reasons. First, one of the accusations facing German Pietists was that they threatened the social order, both in their chiliastic predictions and social behaviour. The Politician is a

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[37] Bröske, *Fünffte Unterredung*, pp. 31–33. They discuss whether the "Roman Empire" must someday cease to exist and be followed by a society with neither kings nor rulers. The Politician and Theologian discuss a passage from the historian Sleidan in his book, *On the Four Monarchies*. They also discuss the beast with "seven heads" and "ten horns" of Revelation 17:3, which is Rome and its rule.

[38] Bröske, *Zweyte Unterredung*, pp. 14f.

vehicle for raising and addressing widespread social attitudes and fears. In the first dialogue, the Politician is eager to speak with the Theologian because he is "disturbed in no small degree" by what he has read and heard regarding recent commentaries on Daniel and Revelation.

> A short while ago some books appeared in print which speak of great changes about to occur, according to which everything would be turned upside down, in both church and world; Pope, Emperor and Kings would be removed from their thrones, and all rulers, great and small, would be relieved of their position and their titles.[39]

The politician viewed such books as the cause of social disturbance and the authors as deserving of punishment for inciting an uproar and disturbing the peace.[40]

> It frightens me that people, actually theologians of good reputation for their learning, skill, doctrine and life, throw themselves into great danger through publishing such ideas, because one must view those who seek to cause mutiny within worldly rule in accordance with the severity of the law…I cannot imagine that God's word would teach such disturbing things; and so I ask, tell me in all sincerity what your view is on this.[41]

The Politician is also a good choice because there is frequent discussion of world affairs in these dialogues, and how contemporary events might relate to the "signs of the end of the age." The Politician is presented as intelligent, logical, and in touch with the attitudes of social and religious authorities of the time. At one point he calls world affairs, "my domain."[42]

The character of the Theologian represents the Philadelphian world-view; more specifically, a Philadelphian writer, and, more specifically still, Bröske. When the Politician inquires of the Theologian why he is out walking alone, the Theologian's answer is reminiscent of the harried, overworked scholar: "I went out for a little fresh air to get myself back

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[39] Bröske, *Eine Unterredung*, p. 4. "Es seynd vor weniger Zeit einige Bücher im Drucke herauß kommen welche von so grossen bevorstehenden Veränderungen reden, so daß wann es denselbigen nachgehen solte in der Kirchen und der Welt, alles drunter und drüber gehen, Pabst, Kayser und Könige von ihren Thronen herunter und alle Herrschafften, Grosse und Kleine ihres Ampts und ihrer Würden entsetzet werden müsten."

[40] The sub-title of *Eine Unterredung* reads: *Worinnen Untersuchet wird ob diese Bücher nicht vor auffrührische Schrifften zu halten und deren Urhebere als Auffrührere und Friedens-Stöhrer zu straffen seynd.*

[41] Bröske, *Eine Unterredung*, p. 4.

[42] Bröske, *Dritte Unterredung*.

in the mood for my work."[43] It is likely that Bröske reveals something of his own temperament at this point. The Theologian not only voices Bröske's views; he is identified as the author of two of Bröske's works. In the seventh dialogue, the Politician and Theologian discuss a recent work which attacked Bröske's fifth dialogue.[44] In the course of their discussion, the Theologian is identified as the author of the *Unterredung*.[45] At this point the fictional setting falls away and fiction becomes reality. There is a similar self-reference in the eighth and final dialogue, where they discuss the Theologian's (Bröske's) sermon, *Die Bekehrung der Heyden* (The Conversion of the Heathen).[46]

Bröske's use of humour in the dialogues is of a self-deprecating variety, not the biting scorn, irony and satire that one finds in a colloquy by Erasmus.[47] The Politician often pokes fun at the Theologian's expense. Bröske may have decided that he could not afford to antagonize his audience by employing biting humour at the expense of the Politician when he represented such widely held views. In discussing the recent work by the English millenarian Thomas Beverley, the Theologian insists that he can see nothing dangerous in Beverley's works. The Politician protests: "Then either the gentleman has no eyes or I no brains."[48] There is frequent reference to the Theologian's tendency to long-windedness and digression. After they have ranged over a wide variety of issues, the Politician pleads: "Please hurry; it certainly seems to me to have been a long time before we are reaching our goal."[49] In a later dialogue the two banter back and forth in a competitive, mocking tone:

> Politician: Now the gentleman admits that further war and unrest may come about?…Then I have won and you have lost, for previously you said that out of all these war-like conditions nothing would arise, yet now you say the opposite.

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[43] Bröske, *Fünffte Unterredung*, p. 3.

[44] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, pp. 6f. The work referred to is, *Rechtmäßiger Unterricht*.

[45] Ibid., pp. 10f.

[46] Bröske, *Achte Unterredung*, pp. 9, 19.

[47] Thompson writes: "To [Erasmus'] natural dramatic talent were joined the moral purpose of a satirist and the temper of an ironist…This man was shrewd, ironic, uncommonly observant, witty; at times able to suffer fools gladly. The irony was ingrained, a part of his character. We find it operative both in his serious and in his lighter works, but controlled by theme and purpose." Thompson, "Introduction," p. xxii.

[48] Bröske, *Eine Unterredung*, p. 8. "So muß entweder der Herr keine Augen oder ich keinen Witz haben…"

[49] Bröske, *Fünffte Unterredung*, p. 32.

> Theologian: Hold on, you do not win so quickly! You must hear me out as to my complete point of view before you speak of winning.
> Politician: So I thought, you want to lead us on another wild goose chase.
> Theologian: No wild goose chase; only a complete and sincere description of the matter that we are speaking about.[50]

The final dialogue concludes with the Theologian reminding the Politician that of the fourteen steps preparatory to Christ's kingdom, there are still seven more that they need to consider—plenty of matter for future conversations![51]

Representation and Instruction in Bröske's Eight Dialogues

Through the mouths of the Politician and Theologian, Bröske's dialogues often represent social-religious conditions of the day and popular attitudes on religious matters. The dialogues frequently allude to the failings of the ruling classes in church and society, and reveal the widespread antagonism towards Philadelphians and their views. There is a discussion in the second dialogue concerning the prestige that attaches to doctors and professors, especially doctors of theology, and how they qualify for these positions. In response to the Politician's obvious deference to their authority, the Theologian is quick to debunk their name and reputation.

> …Money and favours make people into doctors and professors, whether they are qualified for the position or not. I have met and also spoken with many professors who are more enthusiastic about eating, drinking, blaspheming, slandering than about investigating the truth. I have heard many who from outward appearance were great and learned men, who form their opinions so unreasonably that they might have been put to shame by a twelve year old boy…They buy their titles for money, a [practice] that comes from Anti-Christ. Revelation 13:16f.[52]

Through the Theologian's experiences and cynical views on such matters, Bröske reflected the attitudes of a significant segment of the German populace in the late seventeenth century.

There is a vigorous exchange over the issue of clerical greed. The Politician and Theologian discuss how the clergy expect to collect fees

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[50] Bröske, *Achte Unterredung*, p. 13.
[51] Ibid., p. 32.
[52] Bröske, *Zweyte Unterredung*, pp. 9f.

for hearing confession and holding funeral services (*Beicht-Pfennig* and *Leich-Predigten*) and such. The Politician recalls the story of Duke John Galeacius of Milan, and his method of dealing with the clergy and their "hardness and stubbornness against the poor." "When a certain preacher refused a poor widow the burial of her husband because she could not pay him the so-called fee, and the duke learned of this, he became so furious at this unmerciful man that he took him and had him buried alive tied to the corpse of the widow's husband."[53] The Theologian responds: "The zeal of the Duke was reasonable, but the procedure was too harsh." The Politician observes: "Such people [as the clergy] show by their behaviour that they preach not to edify but to make money." In explaining how such abuses arose among the Protestant clergy, the Theologian observed how at first the sixteenth century reformers and clergy differed from their Catholic contemporaries, but then gradually became just like them.[54]

An indication of the widespread opposition to the German Philadelphians comes from the mouth of the Politician. He expresses surprise that the Theologian should in any way commend Pietists and chiliasts.

> Does the gentleman not know that in this region they say nothing but bad things about all these people, calling them stubborn people, dreamers, *Schwärmer*, and other similar names and accusations? The Orthodox want nothing to do with them… You have to admit that, at the present time, they have very little influence because the other party is so huge.[55]

The Politician reveals something of the social disdain and name-calling that Pietists had to endure in the late seventeenth century in German lands. It becomes apparent that Bröske himself was an object of disdain. He had to defend himself against critics who said that the fifth dialogue dismissed all earthly rule and lordship. In the course of a long exchange, the Theologian insists that he (Bröske) never intended to undermine earthly lords and masters, powers and authorities.[56] There

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[53] Bröske, *Sechste Unterredung*, p. 20.

[54] Ibid., pp. 25–27. "Kurtz vor und bey der Reformation hatte man unzehlige Klagen gehöret, wie Clerisey alles ums Geld verkauffte… Dieses schreckliche Ubel begunte nach und nach auch unter den Protestirenden sehr einzureissen." pp. 26f.

[55] Bröske, *Zweyte Unterredung*, p. 18.

[56] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, pp. 6–8, 10. Theologian: "A good friend told me that a well-known theologian in his work, *Rechtmäßiger Unterricht*, considers the view of the ruling authorities that I presented in our fifth dialogue to be something evil and dangerous. He writes: 'These [Pietists] hold that in the glorious kingdom of Christ,

is nothing inherently threatening to current rulers to say that in the millennium, under Christ's rule, matters of rule and authority will be different and present authorities will have no place.

Bröske's dialogues also fulfill a positive purpose—promoting Philadelphian values of religious freedom and renewal. The Theologian, Bröske's alter ego, articulates four main themes that promote an alternative vision for society and church. One deals with the proper way to read and use Scripture; another with the size and significance of the Philadelphian movement worldwide; a third considers the value of an "impartial" attitude towards Christian confessional differences; and the final one, the need for a new culture of religious freedom.

The *first theme* is the right of Christian laity to read and interpret scripture for themselves, without being intimidated by clergy or scholars. Lay Christians and theologians alike should feel free to read scripture without following the old traditionally and confessionally prescribed ways of understanding.

> Previously, one paid attention not so much to the power and emphasis of Scripture as to the authority and human reputation of the interpreter… They held more to the confession of some weak men than to a hundred or more Bibles. They would not judge and condemn the confession according to the Bible, but the Bible according to the confession.[57]

Now people come to the Bible without the hindrance of human wisdom, and with a new openness to reading Biblical prophecies. The reason for this confidence is that believers have the Holy Spirit as their teacher: "One need not turn to the streams of interpreters, no matter how colourful their views, when one has the spirit of God himself as interpreter and can abide in the true understanding of the words as the spirit of God intends."[58] The Theologian offers four simple rules for reading the Bible. First, come with no previous conceptions, and be ready to accept what you find in the Bible; second, interpret each Biblical book according to the nature of the material and its essential

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there will only be rule by fathers in families, and no other kind of ruling authority will have any place.' As if all chiliasts are of the same mind on these things. There are thousands and thousands of chiliasts today who would hold no such view. This view of millennial rule is not the general opinion of chiliasts."

[57] Bröske, *Zweyte Unterredung*, p. 12. The right of Christian people to independently read and interpret the Bible is a key one for Bröske, coming up for discussion in dialogues two, four and eight.

[58] Bröske, *Vierdte Unterredung*, p. 17.

character; third, read everything in its proper context, considering what comes before and after; fourth, read details in light of the main point.[59]

The *second theme* highlights the significance and growth of the Philadelphian movement. The Theologian affirms that the hope of better times is widespread within Christendom, and constitutes the voice of many waters in John's *Apocalypse*.[60] Through the mouth of the Theologian, Bröske pointed to the rise of the Philadelphian church.

> …in all countries and among all peoples where Christ is named there are many thousands with loving hearts who work with great love and zeal for Philadelphia, who look not so much to outward religion as to enlightened hearts…and the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom…Also [they seek] to relate to all the brothers and sisters without outward regard for names, religions, confessions, well knowing that when the true restored Christendom comes about, that one will not say, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am Cephas, I am Lutheran, I am Calvinist, because there will be only one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, one head and one church body.[61]

This Philadelphian church can be found among "the so-called Pietists among the Lutherans, and the so-called chiliasts among the Reformed, and the Philadelphian Society in England." To Philadelphia belong "all those who believe and hold the hope of better times according to God's word…[and] who publicly uphold and teach their hope with open confession."[62] Bröske highlighted the broad appeal of chiliastic thinking at this time: "There are today thousands and thousands of people called chiliasts."[63]

The *third theme* of impartiality is prominent in the fifth dialogue. In identifying the Roman clergy as the seventh head of the beast,[64] the Theologian qualifies the identification: "Rome and the Roman empire have had good and bad clergy. Here in Revelation there is no reference to the good; it is only the bad that are the whore." The Politician

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[59] Bröske, *Achte Unterredung*, p. 32.
[60] Bröske, *Dritte Unterredung*, p. 25.
[61] Bröske, *Zweyte Unterredung*, p. 16. "…in allen Ländern und unter allen Völckern wo der Name Christi genennet wird viele Tausenden solche liebreiche Hertzen haben, auch mit grosser Liebe und Eiffer an der Filadelfia arbeiten, die nicht so sehr auff die äusserliche Religion als auff die erleuchtete Hertzen und Secten sehen, und auff die Furcht des Herrn, welche der Anfang zur Weißheit ist…"
[62] Ibid., p. 17.
[63] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, p. 8.
[64] Bröske, *Fünffte Unterredung*, pp. 33, 36.

commends the Theologian for his impartial way of dealing with faiths other than his own. The Theologian explains:

> Wherever I find the truth which leads to faith, which [faith] shows itself by works, there alone do I find something worth praising, wherever it may be found. Where that is not found, whether it be called Catholic, Evangelical or Reformed, then it is useless, for the one who does not believe is damned. And should he cry out a thousand times, "Lord," "Lord," in other words, perform the best confession of faith, if it is unfruitful, and the will of the Father in heaven is not performed, he certainly will not have a place in the kingdom of heaven.[65]

The Politician expresses his delight at such an attitude:

> Now I see that the gentleman is impartial, because he in no way spares his own religious friends…This impartial spirit is very praiseworthy, and would to God that all the world might be so minded. Then this blind religious zeal for which so many get worked up [and] with so little understanding would soon die down![66]

This emphatic declaration represents one of the great social comments in the eight dialogues. It is a plea for a new society marked by impartiality and mutual respect among the various religious communities.

Finally, the Theologian offers an eloquent argument for a society that recognizes freedom of conscience and religious liberty. When faced with the accusation that chiliasm, with its doctrine of coming judgment upon ruling authorities, verges on social disturbance and treason, the Theologian answers:

> What should I say! I leave it to each one to form their own judgment as to who causes the greatest social unrest: the one who presents a matter simply as their own opinion according to their conviction and leaves others the freedom to believe or not to believe as they do, or the one who attacks and strikes out at this innocent opinion with all kinds of words and violence as something "ketzerisch" and condemned and the like…?[67]

Through the genre of the dialogue, Bröske promoted a new culture of religious freedom and debate. He left it to his readers "to form their own judgment." The medium is the message here. Bröske was far ahead of his time at this point.

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[65] Bröske, *Fünffte Unterredung*, p. 37.
[66] Ibid., pp. 36f.
[67] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, p. 20.

The seventh dialogue concludes with the Theologian offering a detailed explanation of how to remove religious controversy from the world and how to deal with heretics.[68]

> I grant each the freedom to believe what he will, reminding him that he should seek out his own conscience before God… For he stands directly under God, because he alone and no one else is lord over the conscience.
>
> The conscience of men must not be forced… What does force achieve except hypocrites who do not belong in the church of God?

On the question of whether society may tolerate non-Christian people and people who wish to separate from the church, the Theologian answers:

> That's for a politician to answer… One tolerates Jews, Turks, gluttons, drunkards, gamblers, magicians, and what does it matter so long as they live by social norms?… One tolerates in society those requiring admonition in various degrees and sinners who have been disciplined; why not also those who seem to have a conscience?[69]

Bröske's pleas for religious liberty had a deeply personal context for him. Some of the authors published by Bröske's press had suffered recent persecution at the hands of the authorities: Johann Henrich Reitz (1655–1720) was deprived of his position as court preacher and inspector of churches and schools for the county of Solms-Braunfels in 1697; Johann Heinrich Horch (1652–1729) was dismissed from his posts as theology professor and preacher in Herborn in February 1698.

Bröske's Pragmatic Millennialism

In these dialogues Bröske distanced himself from the views of more radical Philadelphians such as Horch and Johann Konrad Dippel. Dippel had brazenly attacked the authorities in both church and society.[70] Such

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[68] Ibid., pp. 28–32.

[69] Ibid., pp. 30f.

[70] Johann Konrad Dippel attacked the authorities in church and state in his writing, *Christenstadt auf Erden ohne gewöhnlichen Lehr-, Wehr- und Nährstand* (1700). "Hand in Hand damit ging die Leugnung aller Autorität in Staat und Kirche, die Verwerfung der vom kirchlichen Pietismus unangetastet gelassenen Ständeordnung." See Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation, 4. Auflage* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993), p. 143.

views were responsible for the widespread fear that Pietists resembled the sixteenth century radicals in not acknowledging constituted authorities.[71] Bröske, however, took a more pragmatic approach to this matter, affirming that "a Christian with good conscience can serve both as ruler and as subject according to his calling." The Theologian argues that the Christian must still live in society with others and so must respect constituted authorities. He expresses an essentially Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms:

> Although a Christian strives first of all for the kingdom of God and its righteousness, he nevertheless also still has dealings with others in this world. And although his primary citizenship is in heaven, he at the same time in the time of his pilgrimage also has to live as a citizen on earth, and cannot renounce it…Now since the kingdom of nature is evil and depraved, and its subjects must be held in check by the God-ordained authority, therefore a person and especially a Christian cannot avoid following this divine calling when God calls him to such an authoritative office. Likewise a subject, even a Christian one, may not refuse to allow himself to be punished by this servant of God when he is bad, and when he is good and pious to be protected by it from violence. So a Christian with good conscience can serve both as ruler and subject according to his calling.[72]

This support for ruling authorities is evident as the Theologian assures the Politician that when the "fourth monarchy" falls and rulers are judged prior to Christ's kingdom, it is only the godless rulers who will be destroyed. "The godly kings will remain and their glory brought into Christ's kingdom."[73]

Another evidence of Bröske's pragmatism is his effort to distance himself from the views of Heinrich Horch. The Theologian assures the Politician, "The views of those who hope for better times are not all the same on this or that particular, as for example on the matter of the ruling authorities." Indeed, "Mr. Horch is not of the same opinion as that in the fifth dialogue."[74] Although Bröske welcomed Horch to Offenbach

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[71] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, p. 7. "Dann diese Leute welche so grosse Unruhe verursachen durch ihre besondere Meinung vom herrlichen Reiche Christi die geben vor daß in dem herrlichen Reich die vätterliche Herrschafft und keine andere werde statt haben, und die Könige und Fürsten nur über ihre Kinder, Enckel und Uhr-Enckel herrschen…"

[72] Bröske, *Fünffte Unterredung*, p. 17.

[73] Ibid., p. 22.

[74] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, p. 12. "Die Meinungen deren die auf Besserung hoffen, nicht alle einerley seynd, insonderheit in diesen oder jenen particulier-Umständen,

as a refugee, Bröske by no means wished to have all Philadelphians identified with the Herborn extremist. Bröske skilfully portrayed not only the social and religious opposition to chiliasm, but the differences and disagreements within the Philadelphian movement itself.

A final indication of Bröske's pragmatism is evident in the discussion of chiliasm, and whether this outlook is compatible with traditional Protestant confessions. When the Politician asks the Theologian, "Which theologians [today] are in fact chiliasts?", the Theologian answers, "All of them."[75] The Theologian invites the Politician to define "chiliasm" and "chiliast." The Theologian then repeatedly corrects the Politician's attempts on the ground that his definitions are too narrow and exclusive. The conclusion is that "chiliasts" include all those who in some fashion hold to the thousand year reign of Christ, something that even the Orthodox must admit to as long as they accept Revelation 20 as part of the canon of the Bible.[76]

Spener and Johann Wilhelm Petersen were at pains to prove that their chiliasm was not in violation of the *Augsburg Confession.* In 1695 Petersen argued that the idea of Christ's thousand year reign "does not go against the 17th article of the *Augsburg Confession*."[77] Petersen noted that the *Confession* never intended to deny the kingdom of Christ which God would establish and with whom the righteous would live and reign for a thousand years. The seventeenth article was inserted in the *Confession* in the first place in order to assure God and men that Protestants did not in any way condone the violence and disorder that first arose in Germany in 1525 and which were still around after 1530 as radicals sought to establish a kingdom in Münster with human rebellion and material weapons. The seventeenth article of the *Confession* rejected such bloody human rebellion, but not the peaceful kingdom of Christ that

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wie die Materie von der Obrigkeit ist." Johann Heinrich Horch (1652–1729) had been dismissed from his post as theology Professor in Herborn in February 1698.

[75] Ibid., p. 20.

[76] Ibid., pp. 20–23.

[77] Johann Wilhelm Petersen, *Öffentliche Bezeugung für der gantzen Evangelischen Kirchen: Das das Reich Jesu Christi, Welches ich Johann Wilhelm Petersen, der H. Schrifft Doctor, Aus Apoc. am XX. behaupte, Weder mit den alten ketzerischen Irrthümern des Cerinthi noch mit den Jüdischen Fabeln einige Gemeinschafft habe; Imgleichen Daß dasselbige nicht gegen den 17. Artickel der Augspurgischen Confession lauffe* (Magdeburg: 1695) [Ts 66 (16)]; Philipp Jacob Spener, *Auffrichtige übereinstimmung mit der augsp. confession… samt eine Anhang gegen Herrn D. Johann Benedict Carpzovium und Herrn D. Johann Friedrich Mayern* (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1695). HAB: [Tf 108 8vo] und [K 393 4to Helmst. (4)].

God himself would soon bring down from heaven.[78] Chiliasm, as Bröske, Spener and the Petersens taught it, was a sophisticated biblical and theological doctrine, designed to accommodate Reformed and Lutheran confessional statements and social conservatism. This is a chiliasm that is desperately trying to avoid separatism and sectarianism.

Conclusion

The dialogue was a favourite literary genre in Bröske's day, the genre par excellence of the German Enlightenment. It reflected not only the liberal values of equality and the free pursuit of truth, but was useful in addressing issues and themes of religious renewal that were central to the experience of late seventeenth century German Pietists, especially the Philadelphians. Bröske's dialogues represent and mirror German church and society, and also promote the new values of religious freedom and Philadelphian renewal. The *Unterredungen* functioned as an entertaining kind of Philadelphian catechism, with the Politician playing the role of the sceptical but inquisitive Burger and the Theologian acting as the skilled teacher.

Bröske's *Unterredungen* offer an eloquent argument for freedom of religious conscience and the virtue of impartiality. Bröske affirmed the right of Christian laity to read and interpret scripture for themselves, without being intimidated by clergy or scholars or having to follow traditionally and confessionally prescribed ways of understanding. Finally, Bröske's dialogues suggest the broad appeal of chiliastic thinking at this time: "There are today thousands and thousands of people called chiliasts."[79] Bröske reminded orthodox Protestants that the piety of Philadelphian renewal was not going to disappear. If anything, it was growing.

[78] Petersen, *Öffentliche Bezeugung*, pp. 19–22. "Dieses ist die wahre Ursach weßwegen sich die Väter der Augspurgischen Confession mit den Evangelischen Ständen genöthigt befunden haben diesen 17 Artickel hinein zurücken als damit für Gott zuversichern daß sie solche rebellische Lehren in ihrem Hertzen nicht hegeten noch solche weltliche Reiche begehreten."

[79] Bröske, *Siebende Unterredung*, p. 8.

CONTROVERSY AND WITHDRAWAL

CHAPTER EIGHT

FEUD WITH JOHANN KONRAD DIPPEL, 1700–1702

Bröske's dispute with Johann Konrad Dippel offers a window into the spectrum of views among German Philadelphians and into the culture of theological disputation during the hey day of German Orthodoxy and Pietism. Most important to this study is what the feud reveals about the mind, character and influence of Conrad Bröske. Bröske's cautious and conservative mindset as court preacher in Offenbach comes into play. Bröske's actions as censor sparked the conflict with Dippel, but their polemical exchanges would range widely over personal, theological and political issues before they had run their course.

The stage must be set by introducing Dippel and by briefly describing the eschatological expectations of the German Philadelphians leading up to 1700 and the events in March 1699 in Offenbach surrounding confiscation of a new publication by Dippel. Despite the bitterness of their feud, Bröske and Dippel shared remarkably similar backgrounds, education, convictions about the need for renewal in church and society, and hopes for the soon-coming millennial kingdom, the Church of Philadelphia.

Johann Konrad Dippel

Johann Konrad Dippel (1673–1734) has been justly described as one of the most recognized and controversial figures in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe. He had degrees in philosophy, theology and medicine, and gained fame as a physician, theologian and alchemist. He would become one of the sharpest critics of Lutheran Orthodox theology.[1] Bröske soon discovered that he had tangled with an exceptionally bright and feisty young scholar.

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[1] Stephan Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel (1673–1734): Seine radikalpietistische Theologie und ihre Entstehung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), pp. 11f., 182. Goldschmidt examined formative influences upon Dippel's thought up to 1700, considering whether these include Gottfried Arnold and early Enlightenment thinkers. (p. 12)

Dippel was born in August 1673, the third son of Johann Philipp Dippel and Anna Eleonora Mönchmeyer. His father was a Lutheran pastor, serving in Nieder-Beerbach and Nieder-Ramstadt, two communities not far from Darmstadt. Like Bröske, Dippel came from a long line of clergy going right back to the Reformation period. His mother's family had also produced its share of preachers.[2] Dippel began life with pretty much the same opportunities as Bröske. Their families belonged to what Bernd Moeller has described as "the new social class of dignitaries or of respectability, above the lower middle class and craftsman class but below the nobility." Comprised of vocational groups such as Protestant clergy, doctors, jurists and middle level state officials, this class gave intellectual and cultural leadership in German burger society from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.[3]

Dippel arrived at Gießen University in May 1691 at the age of seventeen and a half.[4] Like Bröske, Dippel resided in the *Stipendiatenanstalt*, the residence for gifted students who were supported by gifts from towns and individuals. In Gießen the *Anstalt* was dominated by a Pietist leadership that sought to instill Pietist values in the coming generation. During his two years there, Dippel attended lectures by the Pietist-minded *Ephorus* Johann Heinrich May, and participated in exegetical reading and discussion.[5] The young Dippel, however, prided himself on being a good Lutheran and wished to avoid any suspicion of "*Ketzerey*." "I cast the Pietists as a whole on a heap as Schwärmer

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Goldschmidt's first chapter provides an overview of Dippel research and interpretation from the eighteenth century up to the present day.

[2] Dippel wrote about his family heritage as follows: "Von Vaters sowohl, als der Mutter Seiten, bin ich aus einem Geschlecht gebohren, welches schon seit der Reformation im priesterlichen Orden unverruckt einander gefolget." See Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, p. 33.

[3] "…die neue soziale Schicht der Honoratioren oder der Ehrbarkeit, oberhalb des Kleinbürgertums und Handwerkerstandes, unterhalb des Adels." Bernd Moeller, *Pfarrer als Bürger* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), p. 18.

[4] This goes against Dippel's own claim that he was just sixteen when he arrived in Gießen. Wilhelm Diehl noted Dippel's propensity for exaggerating the facts: "Dippel had the tendency of emphasizing as much as possible his immaturity in studies and therefore resorted to the strategy of exaggeration, which he used quite often in other situations." "Dippel hatte das Bestreben, möglichst seine Unreife zum Studium zu betonen und griff deshalb zu dem Mittel der Übertreibung, das er auch sonst recht oft benutzt hat." Wilhelm Diehl, "Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte Johann Konrad Dippels," in Wilhelm Diehl und W. Köhler, ed., *Beiträge zur Hessischen Kirchengeschichte*, E. Anthes, ed., *Ergänzungsband III zum Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* (Darmstadt: Historischer Verein für das Grossherzogtum Hessen, 1908), pp. 141–145.

[5] Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, p. 268.

and as deceived people who erred from the foundation of the faith."[6] In December 1693 Dippel disputed successfully for his masters degree, defending theses on the subject, *De Nihilo*.[7] He then proceeded to the theology faculty in Gießen, focusing on the mystical and semi-Pelagian thought of early Christian writers such as Makarios, Gennadius and Tertullian.

In fall of 1694 Dippel ran out of money, so he took up work as a tutor for an official in Odenwald. He gave this up in summer 1695 to pursue theology studies in Strasbourg. Here he devoted himself to intensive examination of the writings of Philipp Jakob Spener and other Pietists.[8] When a friend died in a tragic accident, Dippel was forced to flee the city in August 1696. That fall he moved back home with his parents in Nieder-Ramstadt. In early 1697 Dippel returned to Gießen to continue theology studies; he also served as Privatdozent in the philosophy faculty and prepared theses for his habilitation disputation.

By now Dippel's theological views had begun to change.[9] He rejected the Lutheran understanding of justification and Christ's substitutionary atonement, and made spiritual rebirth the key to his theological understanding. This is evident in his first main work, *Orcodoxia Orthodoxorum*, published in summer 1697. In early 1698 Dippel published *Papismus Protestantium vapulans* where he rejected the authority of Lutheran confessions and presented a Spiritualist understanding of the sacraments, reflecting notions he had found in the writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld.[10] In Gießen Dippel was encouraged in these views by Gottfried Arnold and Arnold's two friends, Johann Christian Lange and Johannes Andreas Schilling.[11]

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[6] Johann Konrad Dippel, *Nützliche Zugabe Enthaltend die Personalia Oder Den kurtz-geführten Lebens-Lauff des Gestorbenen und doch lebenden Christiani Democriti* (in Christiani Democriti *Glaubens-Bekäntniß*) in Henrich Georg Neuß, Superint. und Consistorial. in Wernigerode, ed., *Probatio Spiritus et Doctrinae Democriti, Das ist Prüfung des Geistes und der Lehre Christiani Democriti, sonst Dippel genannt* (Franckfurt am Mayn u. Leipzig: Joh. David Bergmann, 1701), pp. 414, 417; orig. pp. 349, 353. This work is henceforth cited as Dippel, *Lebens-Lauff des Christiani Democriti.*

[7] Dippel, *Lebens-Lauff des Christiani Democriti*, pp. 415, 416; orig. p. 351.

[8] Ibid., p. 433; orig. p. 371; Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, p. 268.

[9] Dippel, *Lebens-Lauff des Christiani Democriti*, p. 438; orig. p. 376; Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, p. 268.

[10] Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 231–233, 268f.

[11] Diehl, "Neue Beiträge," pp. 150f. Gottfried Arnold would have reinforced Dippel's interest in Schwenckfeld. In his *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (1699–1700), Arnold devoted more attention to David Joris and Caspar Schwenckfeld than to anyone else.

In identifying factors that helped to bring about this change in Dippel's thinking, a recent study challenges earlier interpretations, and Dippel's own account, which make Gottfried Arnold the decisive influence. Stephan Goldschmidt argues that Dippel had already arrived at most of his radical notions by early 1696,[12] before his 1697 encounter with Gottfried Arnold the Gießen history professor. In Dippel's theological development, the writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld, the sixteenth century Spiritualist, and Philipp Jakob Spener, the Pietist, played the central role.[13] Sometime in late 1698 or early 1699, Dippel picked up notions of chiliasm and the restoration of all things (universal salvation). On these matters Johann Heinrich Horch was the key influence on Dippel, mainly through correspondence. In early 1699 Dippel met up with separatist Pietists in Frankfurt, including Hochmann von Hochenau, Samuel König, Carl Anton Püntiner and Johann Wilhelm Petersen, all of whom expected the millennial kingdom to arrive in 1700.[14]

This eschatological expectation added a new urgency and energy to Dippel's writing.[15] His most clear and detailed discussion of the millennium is in *Die Christenstatt auff Erden* (1699). He critiqued the ruling classes in church and society, calling the clergy unenlightened and their church Babel and antichrist, rejected by God and beyond redemption.[16] Born again Christians have no need of rulers or laws; they have Christ's kingdom in their hearts. Dippel rejected church Pietists such as Spener who sought to walk a middle way (*Mittelstraße*), calling for Christian renewal but remaining loyal to Luther and the Reformation. For Dippel, the "Lutheran sect," both in life and doctrine, produced only new articles of belief but no true Christian church.[17] It was at this point in his life, full of activity and disillusionment with the confessional churches, that Dippel took up his dispute with Conrad Bröske.

Shortly before the feud Dippel experienced rejection and disappointment in his personal life. From May 1697 to May 1698 Dippel served as *Prinzeninformator* or tutor to the six year old Prince Karl Wilhelm,

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[12] Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 199–202.
[13] Ibid., pp. 14, 218f., 270f.
[14] Ibid., pp. 250f., 270. The first indication of chiliastic notions in Dippel is in March 1699 when his father reports to the Darmstadt Consistory that his son expected the arrival of the millennial kingdom, the *Aureum seculum*, in the year 1700.
[15] Ibid., pp. 250–252. In 1699–1700 Dippel produced thirteen publications, more than in any other period of his life.
[16] Ibid., p. 253.
[17] Ibid., pp. 253–255.

son of Ernst Ludwig Landgrave of Hessen-Darmstadt. During this period, Dippel set two goals for himself: "a comfortable position and a favourable marriage" to a woman of means.[18] Following what he took to be divine guidance, he proposed tactlessly to the daughter of a Gießen professor. His offer was rudely rejected and he felt discredited, resolving never to broach the marriage question again.[19] About the same time Dippel applied for a professorship at Gießen university, hoping to win the newly available post of third theology professor. He had reason to be optimistic, for his position as tutor to the Prince had often been a stepping-stone to a professorship. He also expected that his recent publications, in which he critiqued orthodox Lutherans and defended Pietism and the Gießen theologians, would impress the authorities.[20] But the Gießen professorship failed to materialize. Having been excluded from the academic world, Dippel began attacking theologians as "*verkehrte Schriftgelehrte*," educated fools.[21] Contemporary observers noted what appeared to be sour-grapes on Dippel's part: "As late as 1702 people close to the court were under the impression that Dippel's radicalism arose from anger that he did not win the appointment in Gießen."[22] Dippel became increasingly unhappy. "I often wished myself far away from my fatherland, to be in a place where

[18] "Ich war selbst dabey in der Haut ein Schalck und ein Feind des Creutzes Christi der bey seiner Pietät damahls fürnemlich den Nutzen dieses Lebens suchte: nemlich eine fette Station und einer favorablen Heyrath." Dippel, *Lebens-Lauff des Christiani Democriti*, p. 436; orig. p. 375. Regarding the favourable marriage Dippel wrote: "So dachte ich doch immer dabey an einen reichen zukünfftigen Schwieger-Vater der alles bezahlen könte." Ibid., p. 423; orig. p. 360.

[19] "Ich eine unverhoffte abschlägte Antwort bekam. Ja dieses nicht allein: man publicirte noch zum Uberfluß meine Werbung die ich doch mit so grosser protestation, vorgeschützter Fatalität…hatte vorgebracht." Ibid., pp. 438f.; orig. p. 377. See also Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 81, 150f.

[20] See Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 142, 151–161. Dippel, *Lebens-Lauff des Christiani Democriti*, pp. 441–443; orig. pp. 379–380. See also Diehl, "Neue Beiträge," p. 145; Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche. Bd. III, Die niederrheinische reformirte Kirche und der Separatismus in Wittgenstein und am Niederrhein im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Theodor Link, ed. (Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1860), p. 172; Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte. Seit der Reformation bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten. Volume 3* (Kassel: Cramer, 1781), pp. 95f.

[21] Johann Konrad Dippel, *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), pp. 420f.

[22] "Noch 1702 konnten Leute, die dem Hof sehr nahe standen, auf den Gedanken kommen, daß der Radikalismus Dippels nur 'aus Eifer herrühre, weiln man Ihn nit zum Professorn Theol. in Gießen gemacht'." Diehl, "Neue Beiträge," p. 145.

no one knew me."[23] But, "at night in a few noteworthy appearances," God assured Dippel of his future in his fatherland, and he was able to "rest in God's leading."[24]

Despite similar backgrounds and opportunities, Dippel's personal, professional and political fortunes diverged dramatically from Bröske's. Bröske achieved precisely the goals that Dippel failed to attain. Bröske won a secure and influential position, becoming court preacher in Offenbach in 1686 at just twenty-six years of age. And in 1692 he made a favourable marriage to Luisa von Eisenberg, half-sister to Count Johann Philipp II of Ysenburg-Offenbach. These diverging experiences undoubtedly influenced their diverging social and theological outlooks, and contributed to the passions that drove their feud.

The German Philadelphian Movement

Bröske and Dippel were both caught up in the turn-of-century mood of millennial excitement that can be traced to the influence of the English Philadelphians. Sometime in late 1698 or early 1699, Dippel came under the influence of Heinrich Horch and his chiliastic hopes. In February 1698 Horch was dismissed as professor in Herborn for his chiliastic views. He and Samuel König began organizing Philadelphian conventicles throughout Wittgenstein and the Wetterau regions, promoting the views of Jane Leade. Dippel was soon won over to their cause. Conrad Bröske, however, had absorbed the Philadelphian eschatology well before this. During a trip to England in summer of 1693 Bröske had met up with Thomas Beverley and possibly with Jane Leade as well. He was among the first German Pietists to make personal contact with these people. In 1694, at the baptism of a Turkish servant girl in Offenbach, Bröske interpreted her conversion as evidence of the prophesied conversion of the heathen and as a sign that the Philadelphian age was not far off.[25]

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[23] "…daß ich mich öffters wieder weit aus meinem Vaterlande hinweg gewünschet an einen Ort da mich kein Mensch kennete." Dippel, *Lebens-Lauff des Christiani Democriti*, p. 437; orig. p. 375. Max Goebel likewise notes: "Er fühlte sich oft sehr unglücklich, und wünschte sich manchmal weit weg von seinem Vaterlande, um an einem Ort zu sein, wo kein Mensch ihn kannte." Goebel, *Bd. III*, p. 172.

[24] Dippel, *Lebens-Lauff des Christiani Democriti*, p. 437; orig. p. 375.

[25] Conrad Bröske, Hochgräffl. Hofprediger zu Offenbach am Mayn, *In einer Predigt über Matth. VIII, 11. der 21. Winter-Monats 1694 Vorgestellt, und auff gnädigsten Befehl im Druck*

The Philadelphian Society developed from circles of English Theosophists who had begun meeting in the mid-seventeenth century to study the thought and writings of Jacob Böhme (1575–1624). Böhme's works had been available in English translation since 1645. Jane Leade (1624–1704) founded the Philadelphian Society in London in 1694 for the "encouragement and gathering of all of God's children who have separated themselves from the Babel of Christendom." They understood the seven churches in the book of Revelation to refer to seven ages in Christian history. The "Sardic Church" referred to the period of the Reformation and Protestant confessional churches. This age would be succeeded by the "Church of Philadelphia," the time when the divisions within Christendom would fall away, the true people of God would be gathered in love and peace, and the thousand year kingdom would dawn.[26] By 1694 tracts and books by Leade were being translated into German, published in Amsterdam and circulated among Pietists in Germany. In the second half of the 1690s decade there appeared increasing numbers of Pietist publications dealing with the Apocalypse and "end-time calculations."[27]

In 1695 Bröske wrote: "the signs of the times can best be recognized and understood by the numbers which God himself clearly identified for the determination of certain times."[28] He calculated that the millennium would begin in 1773. He expected that seventy-five years of preparation for the millennium "must arise with the year 1698, and with that year are to be expected the beginning of [worldwide] changes."[29]

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herausgegeben, zum Theil erfüllete und noch zu erfüllen bevorstehende Bekehrung der Heyden, samt einer aussführlichen Erzehlung der am selbigen Tage zu Offenbach einer Türken-Taufe, als einer gebohrnen Türkin die h. Taufe mitgetheilet worden (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1694).

[26] Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 170f.; Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht, ed., *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), p. 405. For more on Jane Leade, the Philadelphian movement and Thomas Beverley, see chapter six.

[27] Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," pp. 405f., 409; Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 131f.

[28] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Herrn Thomas Beverleys, Eines vortrefflichen Englischen Gottes Gelehrten… eines rechten Wunder-Mannes Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, ins Hochteutsche-gebracht Durch Konrad Brüßken* (Franckfurt und Leipzig: 1695).

[29] Conrad Bröske, "Anhang" zu *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt… aus dieses Mannes verschiedenen Schrifften zusammen gezogen und ins Hoch-Teutsche gebracht Durch Konrad Brüßken und mit einemnachdencklichen Anhang vermehrt* (Frankfurt: 1697). "…und müssen deswegen die noch folgenden 75. Vorbereitungs-Jahre erst mit dem nächsten 1698sten Jahre anheben und in demselben

> The years of preparation for the thousand year Reich must begin around the year 1700… that the first level of preparation for this Reich would be the making ready of the 144,000 on Mount Zion (around 1728), who as the new Apostles would be taken from the (Lutheran) Pietists, (Reformed) Chiliasts, (Catholic) Quietists and the English Philadelphians and brought to the whole face of the earth to proclaim the new gospel and sing the new song.[30]

Bröske suggested that the Philadelphian movement in England and Germany had become a source of alarm in Christendom because of their common hopes for better times. It is such hopes that Bröske and Dippel shared in common.

Events in March 1699: Offenbach Authorities confiscate Dippel's Wein und Oel in die Wunden des gestäupten Papstthums[31]

The event that brought their lives together, the spark that set off their clash, was Dippel's plan to publish a book in Offenbach, an event that could conceivably have brought the two men closer together rather than drive them apart.

In early 1698 Dippel's anti-orthodox work, *Papismus protestantium vapulans* (*The Scourging Papacy of the Protestants*), created controversy both within the Landgrafschaft Hessen-Darmstadt and beyond. In this writing Dippel accused the heirs of Luther of creating another papacy, this time under the guise of confessional writings which determined correct doctrine as strictly as any pope. He criticized the Lutheran doctrine of the believer's justification on the basis of forensic righteousness—Christ's substitutionary righteousness imputed to believers. Dippel thought the teaching diminished the Christian's sense of personal responsibility

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nach dieser Rechnung der Anfang der vermutheten Veränderungen zu gewarten seyn; Und sich folglich auch der recht glückliche Stand nicht mit 1772 sondern mit 1773 nach Christi Geburt anheben."

[30] Conrad Bröske, *Zweite Unterredung* in *Acht Unterredungen Zwischen einem Politico und Theologo, Über die letztere herauß-gegebene Erklärungen Daniels, der H. Offenbahrung und anderer Weissagungen mehr* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1698), pp. 25, 31f.; Goebel, *Bd. III*, p. 81.

[31] Johann Konrad Dippel, *Wein und Oel in die Wunden des gestäupten Papstthums der Protestirenden oder Christiani Democriti offenhertzige, christliche, fernere Erklärung, Beweiß und Entschuldigung gegen alle Richter des Buchs, Papismus Protestantium Vapulans genannt* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1699 und 2. Auflage 1700). (Wine and Oil in the Wounds of the Scourged Protestant Papacy or Open-hearted, Christian Clarification, Proof and Apology against all Judges of the book called, The Scourging Papacy of the Protestants), 383 pages.

for striving to live a righteous life.[32] He rejected the orthodox doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the bible, arguing that the Holy Spirit's inspiration is evident in varying degrees among the biblical writers. The Gospel of John and the First Epistle of John are more inspired than other New Testament writings.[33] Gießen preachers denounced Dippel from their pulpits and stirred up so much opposition to Dippel that he actually feared for his safety. The Landgrave feared that his own reputation could be damaged if a former tutor, who had lived in his household, was known to be spreading heresy. The Gießen Consistory proceeded to confiscate any remaining copies of the book to be found at Müller's print shop. Müller was assessed a fine of twenty Reichstaler for printing the work without formal approval.[34]

Darmstadt authorities were still seeking to quiet the storm raised by *Papismus protestantium vapulans* when, in October 1698, Dippel completed another controversial work, *Wein und Oel in die Wunden des gestäupten Papstthums der Protestirenden oder Christiani Democriti offenhertzige, christliche, fernere Erklärung, Beweiß und Entschuldigung gegen alle Richter des Buchs, Papismus Protestantium Vapulans genannt* (Wine and Oil in the Wounds of the Scourged Protestant Papacy or Open-hearted, Christian Clarification, Proof and Apology against all Judges of the book called, *The Scourging Papacy of the Protestants*). Dippel added fuel to the fire by denying that Protestant clergy were truly evangelical servants of God; he rejected the doctrines of election and predestination; and he denied that the sacraments were means of grace in mediating faith and regeneration.[35]

Dippel gave the book to the Offenbach printer, Bonaventura de Launoy, knowing that it must pass Bröske's scrutiny. Bröske suggested some revisions, which Dippel promptly made, after which de Launoy proceeded with printing the book. De Launoy was printing the last page when the Hessen-Darmstadt Consistory learned of its imminent publication and that de Launoy possessed yet another Dippel manuscript, *Anfang, Mittel und Ende der Ortho- und Heterodoxie* (Beginning, Middle and End of Orthodoxy and Heresy). On March 2, 1699 the Darmstadt Consistory asked the Ysenburg authorities in Offenbach to interrogate de Launoy about the circumstances surrounding publication of *Wein*

[32] Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 206f.
[33] Ibid., p. 223.
[34] Ibid., pp. 234f. For a detailed description of the proceedings against *Papismus protestantium vapulans* see Ibid., pp. 234–243, and Diehl, "Neue Beiträge," pp. 152f.
[35] Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 244f.

und Oel, to confiscate the work, and to forbid de Launoy from printing any further works by Dippel. On March 9 de Launoy was interrogated by the Ysenburg Councillors. He reported that five copies of the book were already in circulation. A few days later a Darmstadt Councillor arrived in Offenbach to pick up the remaining 1,494 copies of *Wein und Oel* (by this time a sixth copy was in circulation) and to deliver 120 Gulden to cover the costs of printing. De Launoy retained the original manuscript, however, and later printed a second edition.[36] Dippel was placed under a publication ban and house arrest by the Darmstadt authorities, both of which he ignored.[37]

The incident is noteworthy for a couple of reasons. First, it appears that up to March 1698, Bröske and Dippel were still on friendly terms. Bröske was willing to proceed with publication of Dippel's work even while Dippel was being attacked by the Gießen pastors and investigated by the Darmstadt authorities. Second, the confiscation incident marked the beginning of a fractured friendship and growing alienation between the two men. Bröske's actions as censor, first in suggesting changes in *Wein und Oel* and then agreeing to ban the book, probably raised Dippel's suspicions that Bröske had turned against him. Dippel would have found Bröske's double-dealing in this matter hard to accept.[38] Dippel increasingly viewed Bröske's good fortune as evidence of compromise and accommodation to the demands of the worldly authorities. "He has sought till now to stand at once on both sides, and through the power of his own intellect to combine old and new, good and bad with each other."[39]

And so the stage has been set. Dippel took up his dispute with Conrad Bröske at a point in his life when he was full of activity and eschatological expectation, disillusioned with the confessional churches, and deeply

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[36] For a detailed description of the proceedings against *Wein und Oel in die Wunden des gestäupten Papstthums der Protestirenden*, see Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, pp. 245–249.

[37] Ibid., p. 248.

[38] Diehl, "Neue Beiträge," pp. 156f.

[39] "Er hat biß hieher gesuchet auf beyden Seiten zugleich zu stehen, und durch die Würcksamkeit seines Verstandes altes und neues, gutes und böses unter einander zu mischen…" Johann Konrad Dippel, *Christlich-gesinntes Send-Schreiben an Herrn Conrad Brüßken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, worin… sein letzt-publicirtes Scriptum genannt: Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion mit nützlichen und nöthigen Anmerckungen Den Wahrheits-Begierigen Seelen zum Besten, weiter erkläret und illustriret wird* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1701) (56 pages), in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), p. 990.

frustrated in his personal life. Bröske, by contrast, had a comfortable and fulfilling situation in Offenbach, serving in the court of the count, and fully expecting the arrival of "better times for the church." The spark that set off their clash was Bröske's compliance in the confiscation of Dippel's book as it came off the Offenbach press. The circumstances were set for a battle between the followers of brotherly love.

Issues in the Bröske-Dippel Feud

Two main threads run through Bröske's feud with Dippel:[40] one is the identity of the anonymous author who called himself Philadelphus Heraclitus; the other is the theological disagreement between the two men over such matters as separatism and involvement in the state church, spiritualism and the role of external sacraments, the meaning of Philadelphian love and impartiality, and Bröske's Calvinism over against Dippel's semi-Pelagianism.

The Identity of Philadelphus Heraclitus

From Dippel's perspective, the feud was occasioned by an anonymous work that attacked his recently published *Glaubens-Bekänntniß* (1700) (Confession of Faith). The author called himself "Philadelphus Heraclitus," addressing his beloved brother "Christian Democritus," the pen name that Dippel had assumed. The names Democritus and Heraclitus refer to two authorities in classical Greek philosophy who had long since come to represent contrasting philosophical types. Democritus was the laughing philosopher, representing cheerfulness; Heraclitus was the weeping philosopher, representing sadness and suffering.[41] To these classical antecedents Dippel and his opponent added the names "Christian" and "Philadelphus," establishing the Christian context of

[40] Dippel himself alluded to two sets of issues when he wrote in *Kurtze Anmerckungen*: "da der herr darin selbst von der *Materie* unsers disputs nun ablässet und nur versichert daß er nicht der *Auctor* gewesen des lieblosen Send-Schreibens an den Democritum von Heraclito Philadelpho." (Italics mine) Johann Konrad Dippel, *Kurtze Anmerckungen oder Antwort über Titeln Herrn Brüssken hochgräffliche Ysenburgischen Hoff-Predigers zu Offenbach, Beide Send-Schreiben* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700) in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), p. 945.

[41] Thomas Rütten, *Demokrit—Lachender Philosoph & Sanguinischer Melancholiker* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 13–16, 216–217.

the dispute. Dippel's anonymous opponent, Heraclitus, made the most of the pseudonym to lament and mourn Dippel's errors in a work entitled, *Gemilderte Thränen, Oder Zweites Send- und Antwort-Schreiben An den Ihm von Angesicht gantz unbekanten Democritum* (Tears Relieved, Or a Second Open Letter and Reply to Democritus, someone with whom Heraclitus is completely unacquainted).[42]

With the recent confiscation of his work in Offenbach fresh in mind, Dippel wrote his *Glaubens-Bekänntniß* in a combative spirit. In the "Foreword to the Reader," Dippel explained that he had written a confession of his faith in response to requests from lovers of truth and from many others who were searching for truth. Jealousy of Dippel's wide readership had driven the great ones of this world to ban and confiscate his printed works.[43] The body of the *Glaubens-Bekänntniß* is comprised of fourteen articles of belief. For each article Dippel provided a statement of doctrine (*Satz*) and, in traditional scholastic fashion, refuted opposing views (*Gegensatz*). Dippel sought to show his orthodox opponents that Scripture and orthodox theological method could be used to support his own radical positions.[44]

In the first anonymous *Send-Schreiben*, Philadelphus Heraclitus lamented the tone of Dippel's *Glaubens-Bekänntniß*. Dippel could advance the cause of goodness and truth in the world more effectively if he would write in a more congenial manner.[45] "You should have written a little

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[42] Philadelphus Heraclitus, *Gemilderte Thränen, Oder Zweites Send- und Antwort-Schreiben An den Ihm von Angesicht gantz unbekanten Democritum* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700). Dippel and his opponent were not the first to claim these names as pseudonyms. In 1675, over twenty years before the Philadelphian feud, the names had been used in lamenting the condition of Germany: *Traum-Gesicht vom Demokritus und Heraklitus, da jener den itzigen Zustand in Teutschland belachet dieser aber beweinet.Worinnen denen bedrängten Mit-Brüdern seiner nothleidenden Nation, treuhertzig alles eröffnet ist, die übrigen aber sich zu bessern, wolmeynend gewarnet werden, von dem authore selbsten* (1675). The work is located in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, QuN 182 (18).

[43] Christiani Democriti, *Summarische und aufrichtige Glaubens-Bekänntniß*, in *Sämtliche Schriften* (Berleburg: 1747), p. 488.

[44] *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), pp. 420f. Dippel wrote in his "Foreword to the Reader": "Diesen zu Gefallen will ich, nach der gewöhnlichen Schulart durch kurtzgefaste Sätze und Gegensätze die streitige Artickel abhandeln, und unter jeden punct genugsame Zeugnüsse der Heil. Schrifft, völlig nach allen Worten allegirt, hinzuthun, um den Leser des offt gar verdrießlichen Nachschlagens zu entheben, und auch den verkehrten Schrifftgelehrten zu zeigen, daß nichts so sehr wider sie sey, als eben die Heil. Schrifft, mit welcher sie Abgötterey treiben…"

[45] "Hier mustu aber lieber Bruder nicht meynen als ob ich dieses zu dem Ende schreibe dich vor aller Welt zu verhöhnen noch deine Schrifften zu widerlegen sondern dir nur zu zeigen daß das gute auff eine viel bessere und bequemere Art ohne all

more deliberately and carefully.... I mourn over your too sharp pen with which you cause so much offense in the world."[46] Philadelphus proceeded to illustrate Dippel's sharp pen by reference to his articles on Government, Work, Preachers and Teachers, Spiritual office under the New Covenant, the Trinity, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In the article on Teachers, Philadelphus suggested Dippel forgo name-calling: "I ask you in future not so sharply to label teachers in the church of Jesus Christ without distinction as blind leaders and belly-priests, nor to say boldly that 'the whole church service as it stands today was established by the seduction of Satan in the time after the [church's] fall...'"[47] "As it greatly annoys you dear brother when someone calls you an Arian or a Socinian, so it annoys them when you mock them with such names."[48]

On the issue of Baptism, Philadelphus appealed to Dippel to consider opposing arguments and to recognize that some Christian brothers, in good conscience, took a different view than he.

> I ask you for nothing more than that you would consider these stated reasons with an impartial mind. As you would burden your conscience if you should baptize a child, so would it be a matter of conscience to me if a child should be deprived of this sign of grace through my negligence.[49]

Philadelphus Heraclitus called on Dippel to forsake an argumentative spirit that could only lead to divisions and a sectarian church, and to assume instead an "impartial mind" that would promote reconciliation and a Philadelphian church. Philadelphus knew that themes such as

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Affecten und Hohn könte auff die Bahn gebracht und aller Welt vor Augen gemahlet werden...So meine ich...deine allzu scharffe Speise annoch in etwas schmackhaffter zu machen." Philadelphi Heracliti, *Christ-brüderliches Send-Schreiben An seinen lieben Bruder den so genandten Christianum Democritum* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700), p. 5.

[46] "...aber soltestu ein wenig bedächtlicher und fürsichtiger geschrieben und nicht alles aufs spitzfindigste hervor zu bringen gesucht haben...ich beweyne deine allzu spitzige Feder mit welcher du so viel Aergernuß in der Welt anrichtest." Philadelphi Heracliti, *Christ-Brüderliches Send-Schreiben*, pp. 18f.

[47] Ibid., pp. 14, 17, 28, 47.

[48] "Wie es dich aber lieber Bruder sehr verdreust wann dich einer ein Arrianer oder Socinianer heisset so muß es dann auch nothwendig die verdriessen die du mit einem solchen scoptischen Namen auffziehest and hechelst." Ibid., p. 28.

[49] "Ich bitte dich um nichts mehr als daß du diese meine vorgestellte Gründe mit einem unpartheyischen Gemüthe wollest ansehen...Dann wie du dein Gewissen bey so gestalten Sachen beschweren würdest wann du ein Kind taufftest so würde ich mir ein Gewissen darüber machen wann durch meine Nachläßigkeit ein Kind dieses Gnaden Zeichens solte beraubet werden." Ibid., pp. 35f.

impartiality and brotherly love would remind Dippel of Gottfried Arnold and his recently published *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*.

Dippel was not of a mind to accept a rebuke from a fellow Pietist who claimed to be writing on behalf of "many dear friends."[50] In his *Aufrichtig-Christliche Antwort* (Sincere Christian Response), Dippel defended the articles of his *Glaubens-Bekänntniß* against the criticisms of Philadelphus and accused Philadelphus himself of writing too bitterly and sharply.[51] Dippel raised "Six Questions" that he believed effectively challenged Philadelphus' views on the Lord's Supper, including the latter's effort to defend allowing hypocrites to partake in the outward ceremony on the grounds that the inner eucharist was the truly effective one.[52] Dippel also suggested that Bröske's recently published *Wein und Oel in die Wunden des zuheylenden Democriti* (Wine and Oil in the Wounds of the healing Democritus) was written out of guilt for the severity of the anonymous *Send-Schreiben*, clearly implying that Bröske had authored the latter work.

Bröske responded with two open letters in which he rejected Dippel's "false hypothesis" that Bröske was the anonymous Philadelphus.[53] "The gentleman is completely mistaken when he takes me for Philadelphus Heraclitus." In fact, said Bröske, the *Send-Schreiben* of Heraclitus was written "not at all according to my own taste and pleasure."[54] Bröske was indignant at Dippel's suggestion that he was a mere "State and Court Pietist" (*Staats-und Hof-Pietisten*) and part of a new Pietist sect. While not ashamed to be labeled a Pietist, Bröske objected to being tied to any form of sectarianism. "I can assure the gentleman that when I hear of sectarianisms, especially of the creation of new sects these days, invariably a shiver runs over me."[55]

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[50] Ibid., p. 44.

[51] Johann Konrad Dippel, *Aufrichtig-Christliche Antwort auf das so genante Christ-brüderliche Send-Schreiben eines wohlbekanten Freundes der sich unter dem Namen Heracliti Philadelphi des Democriti Bruder nennet* (1700), in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), pp. 922–938.

[52] Ibid., p. 936.

[53] "…dieweil seine gantze Antwort auff diesen falschen hypothesibus, daß der Author der Heraclitus seye, beruhet…" Conrad Bröske, *Ein Send-Schreiben An den Im Urtheile verrückten Democritum Über den Wein und das Oel in die Wunden Des zu heylenden Democriti* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700), p. 7.

[54] "Dann wolte ich sagen daß der Herr gantz irre an meiner Person ist…wann er mich vor den Philadelphum Heraclitum hält…daß ich des Heracliti Send-Schreiben gar nicht nach meinem Sinne und Behagen eingerichtet finde…" Ibid., p. 3.

[55] "Ja ich kann den Herrn versichern, wann ich von Sectirereyen höre insonheit neuen die man jetzt erst machen will…daß mir allemal ein Schauder über die Haut

Dippel responded to Bröske with his *Kurtze Anmerckungen* (Short Comments), in which he claimed to have an "infallible basis" for identifying Bröske as Philadelphus Heraclitus, the author of the *Send-Schreiben*. Indeed, said Dippel, he was "as certain that he [Bröske] was the author of the *Send-Schreiben* as he was certain that the light of the sun now shines in my eyes and that He who examines our inward being is not far from each one of us."[56] Dippel listed six reasons for identifying Philadelphus with Bröske: the writing style was remarkably similar to Bröske's, despite Bröske's contrary claim; Philadelphus shared Bröske's Reformed belief that no true Christian could fall away from faith and be lost; the anonymous Philadelphus had seen letters from Dippel to the theologians in Gießen and Darmstadt, to which only Bröske would have access; the anonymous work was printed in Offenbach where it would come under Bröske's oversight as censor, and so was published with Bröske's approval; de Launoy's suggestion that a Swedish field preacher had authored the *Sendschreiben* was simply the effort of a friend to protect Bröske; finally, in responding to Dippel's *Aufrightig-Christliche Antwort* the author had written two treatises, one with the place of printing on the title page, the other without it, to convince Dippel he was dealing with two different people.[57]

Bröske responded to Dippel in *Der durch Konrad Brüßken nun recht beschämte Democritus* (Democritus properly shamed by Conrad Bröske), dated May 27, 1700. Bröske laid the blame for the dispute at Dippel's door. The feud had begun when Dippel accused him of writing the anonymous Philadelphus *Send-Schreiben.* "The matter over which this whole exchange of letters originated is that from the start the gentleman has wrongly held me to be the Philadelphus Heraclitus who wrote against him; and has said this not only by word of mouth but also in writing and in print…"[58] Despite Dippel's infallible basis of

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laufft…" Conrad Bröske, *Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1700), p. 8.

[56] "So wisse nun der Herr, daß ich aus einem gantz ohnfehlbaren Grunde so gewiß bin, daß er der Auctor von dem Send-Schreiben des Philadelphi ist…, so gewiß das Licht der Sonnen mir noch in meine sehende Augen leuchtet, und der, der Hertzen und Nieren prüffet, nicht ferne von einem jeden unter uns ist." Johann Konrad Dippel, *Kurtze Anmerckungen oder Antwort über Titeln Herrn Brüssken hochgräffliche Ysenburgischen Hoff-Predigers zu Offenbach, Beide Send-Schreiben* (Offenbach: 1700) in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen*, p. 946.

[57] Ibid., pp. 946f.

[58] "Die Sache worüber aller dieser Brieffwechsel entstehet ist daß mich der Herr gleich Anfangs vor dem Filadelfum Heraclitum welcher gegen ihn geschrieben fälschlich

certainty, Bröske was equally certain that he was *not* the author of the anonymous letter:

> I must now say exactly the opposite and confess, as surely as the sun still shines in my eyes and the Lord examines our inward being and is not far from each of us, that the gentleman is completely mistaken and wrong in this matter; that I certainly have neither dictated nor written the *Send-Schreiben* of Heraclitus.[59]

Bröske insisted that neither the content nor the style of the anonymous work were to his liking.[60] Bröske addressed each of the six arguments raised by Dippel: all intelligent people were agreed that the Philadelphus treatise was not in Bröske's writing style; Bröske's theology was not as sectarian as that of Philadelphus; Bröske had never seen hand-written letters by Dippel either in Darmstadt or Gießen; the fact that the anonymous work was published in Offenbach did not automatically give it Bröske's approval; de Launoy denied he had ever put forward a Swedish preacher as the author; the two letters had no other intention than to defend Bröske against Dippel's false accusations. On a surprising note, Bröske admitted that he knew who Philadelphus was, but saw no need to reveal the information since the author preferred to keep his identity hidden.[61]

Dippel was indignant that Bröske could be so casual in hiding the anonymous author's identity. In his *Nochmalige und letzte Erinnerung*, Dippel asked:

> Would it not have been far more responsible before God to deliver so many souls from suspicion by revealing whether my accusation against him were false? Nevertheless I must ask him, my worthy Philadelphus, whoever he is… that he step out into the light of day, reveal his true name, and convince either me or the court preacher of a falsehood.[62]

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gehalten; es nicht allein mündlich gesagt sondern auch schrifftlich und im Drucke herauß gegeben hat…" Conrad Bröske, *Der durch Konrad Brüßken nun recht beschämte Democritus* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 27 Maij, 1700), p. 1.

[59] "Worrauff ich nun gerade das Gegentheil sagen muß und bekennen daß so gewiß mir die Sonne noch in meine sehenden Augen leuchtet und der der Hertzen und Nieren prüfet nicht ferne von einem jeden unter uns ist der Herr gantz irre und unrecht daran ist; daß ich so gewiß des Heracliti Sendschreiben weder dictiret noch selbsten geschrieben habe…" Ibid., p. 4.

[60] Ibid., p. 5.

[61] Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

[62] Johann Konrad Dippel, *Nochmalige und letzte Erinnerung an den so ihm als Gott wohl bekannten so genannten Heraclitum Philadelphum* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700) in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen*, pp. 950f.

Bröske and Dippel met in a face to face conference but the sides were hardened and no good came of it. Dippel was convinced that Bröske had authored a second work against him using the name Philadelphus Heraclitus and entitled, *Gemilderte Thränen* (Tears Relieved).[63]

In *Gemilderte Thränen*, Philadelphus replied to Dippel's *Aufrichtig-Christliche Antwort*. Like Bröske, Philadelphus protested against Dippel's assumption that he and Bröske were one and the same. He challenged the title of Dippel's work: "…Response to the so-called Christian open letter *by a well-known friend* who calls himself Heraclitus Philadelphus." In fact, said Philadelphus, he and Dippel had never met. Dippel was making a "mish-mash" of two different personalities.[64] *Gemilderte Thränen* then addressed Dippel's effort to defend the articles of his *Glaubens-Bekanntniß*, which Philadelphus had initially challenged. The anonymous author reaffirmed his intent to admonish Dippel for his sharp and prickly style of writing.[65] Philadelphus then went on to challenge Dippel's view that the sacraments celebrated in German churches represented the abomination of desolation in Babel spoken of in the *Apocalypse*. Dippel had simply just set up his own brand of orthodoxy and thereby contributed to further division among Christians.

> I observe that while he deals violently with orthodoxy, whether Lutheran or Reformed or something else, he at the same time sets up not only another sect but also a new orthodoxy, so that what does not adapt itself to his orthodoxy must be nothing other than Babel, and those who do not blindly agree with him in everything, whether Baptism or the Lord's

[63] The reference to tears in the title calls to mind the first *Send-Schreiben* where Philadelphus had professed to be moved to tears by the harm Dippel had caused the church of Christ through his abrasive writings. "Ich dafür halte, du werdest so du anders wilt hieraus die Ursach meiner häuffig vergiessenden Thränen über deine allzu scoptische Feder sattsam erkennen und wahrnehmen können." ("I believe you will from this be able to perceive and recognize sufficiently the reason for my frequent shedding of tears over your too satirical pen.") Philadelphi Heracliti, *Christ-brüderliches Send-Schreiben*, p. 44.

[64] "Wie sich der Wein-und Oel-Steller über ihn hefftig zu beschweren grosse Ursach findet daß er denselben Zweiffelsfrey auß vorgefasseten praejudiciis und Vor-Urtheilen ohne den geringsten Grund vor den Heraclitum außgibt der er doch nicht ist; So im Gengentheil finde ich wohl so grosse Ursach und Gelegenheit ihn wegen seiner allzugrossen Freyheit im urtheilen und unbedachtsamen Lieblosigkeit eines falsi zu beschuldigen und deßfals meine Zähren nochmahls häuffig fliessen zu lassen, zumahlen er mich zum Authore des brennenden Feuers [von Conrad Bröske] p. 18 machen auch so bald darauff ohne den geringsten Grund sagen darff…" Philadelphi Heracliti, *Gemilderte Thränen, Oder Zweites Send- und Antwort-Schreiben An den Ihm von Angesicht gantz unbekanten Democritum* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700), pp. 4f., 25.

[65] Ibid., p. 31.

> Supper or the justification of the sinner before God, must be considered nothing but Babylonians, educated fools and Pharisees.[66]

Worse than Dippel's views was the divisive spirit in which he presented them.

Dippel responded to this second Philadelphus letter with his *Nochmalige und letzte Erinnerung* (Further and Final Reminder) where he retraced the familiar ground of the disputed articles of his *Glaubens-Bekänntniß*, indicating something of the repetitiveness of these letters.[67] To Philadelphus' plea that Dippel remain in the state church in order to promote healing, reconciliation and unity, Dippel objected:

> In that case our Protestant founders would have had no good reason to separate themselves from the Papacy… A truly catholic church makes a distinction between Christ and Belial, light and darkness, temporal and eternal, pure and impure and does not observe outward customs.[68]

Dippel still identified Philadelphus with Conrad Bröske. The full title of Dippel's work reads, "Further and Final Reminder to the so called Heraclitus Philadelphus, *well-known to him* as well as to God." Dippel promised that, from his side, there would be no more polemics. "Herewith let there be an end made, from my side, of the correspondence between me and Mr. Philadelphus, or Mr. Bröske."[69]

In *Augen-Salbe vor den Hn. Democritum und Alle die seinen falschen Bezeugungen glauben, auß Liebe zu ihrer aller Genesung zubereitet* (Eye Salve for Democritus and all those who believe his false testimonies, prepared out of love for their complete recovery), Bröske answered accusations that Dippel had

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[66] "So sehe und mercke daß indem er die Orthodoxie es sey der Lutheraner oder Reformirten oder anderer so gewaltig durchziehet er dabey nicht nur eine andere Secte sondern auch eine neue Orthodoxie aufrichtet so daß das was sich in die sphaeram seiner Orthodoxie nicht schicken will lauter Babelisches Wesen seyn muß und die so sich nicht in allem es sey in der Tauffe oder Abendmahl oder in der Rechtfertigung des armen Sünders vor Gott…ihm nicht blindlings beypflichten wollen noch können lauter Babylonier, Schrifftgelehrte und Phariseer seyn müssen…" Ibid., p. 59.

[67] This repetitiveness is revealed not only in the repeated discussion of the Articles. The "six questions" that Dippel had first raised in *Aufrichtig-christliche Antwort* in attacking Philadelphus' view of the supper and responded to by Philadelphus in *Gemilderte Thränen*, were again addressed as Dippel responded to Philadelphus' response. "Die absurde und übel applicirte distinction…hatte ich in einigen Fragen zu nicht machen wollen, auf welche der Herr Philadelphus eben durch diese seine distinction wiederum antwortet, und so wunderlich, daß ich zur Entdeckung seiner Blöße es nützlich finde, gemeldte Fragen samt seiner Antwort noch einmal hieher zu setzen." Dippel, *Nochmalige und letzte Erinnerung*, pp. 956–961.

[68] Ibid., p. 960.

[69] Ibid., p. 962.

raised in their meeting as well as in the *Nochmalige und letzte Erinnerung*. Bröske rejected Dippel's suggestion that because he knew Heraclitus but was unwilling to reveal his identity, it must follow that Bröske and Heraclitus were one and the same. There were at least ten other people who also knew the identity of Philadelphus Heraclitus and had refused to name him, including the Second Preacher in Offenbach and his son, the printer and his wife, some fellows who had seen Philadelphus in the print shop, and others whom Bröske preferred not to name.[70] Also, it was little wonder that there was an echo of Bröske in Heraclitus' writings, as Dippel had observed; Heraclitus had been in conversation with Bröske for a long time and had read all of his works.[71] Dippel's arguments revealed his own "biased self-love" (*partheiische eigen-liebe*).[72]

At this point the dispute about the anonymous Philadelphus finally came to rest. Dippel's and Bröske's next treatises completely by-passed the identity of Philadelphus Heraclitus and instead addressed more substantive theological issues.[73]

Was Bröske actually Philadelphus Heraclitus or not? Dippel was correct in observing similarities of thought between Bröske and the author of the *Sendschreiben*. The anonymous author's positions on Baptism and the Lord's Supper indicate that he, like Bröske, was probably involved in the state church while at the same time holding to Philadelphian views. However, there are some weighty reasons for taking Bröske's side in this matter. First, it is hard to imagine that Bröske was posturing in the righteous indignation that he repeatedly expressed against Dippel's accusations.

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[70] Conrad Bröske, *Augen-Salbe Vor den Hn. Democritum Und Alle die seinen falschen Bezeugungen glauben, Auß Liebe zu ihrer aller Genesung zubereitet* (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1700), p. 16.

[71] Ibid., p. 18.

[72] Bröske found in Dippel "solche partheiische eigen-liebe und andere grobe fehler." Ibid., p. 24.

[73] Dippel apparently remained firm in his conviction that Bröske and the author of the two anonymous letters were one and the same. In the 1709 edition of his complete works, entitled *Eföffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Got und Allen Creaturen*, Dippel included *Aufrichtig—Christliche Antwort*, *Kurtze Anmerckungen* and *Letzte Erinnerung* under the heading, "Drei Send-Schreiben mit einem Gegen-Sprecher über die Glaubens-Bekänntnuß gewechselt," that is, "three open letters exchanged with a conversation partner concerning the *Glaubens-Bekänntnuß*." Although the first and third of these treatises were replies to Philadelphus, the second was a reply to Bröske, indicating that he viewed them as one person.

> When Heraclitus, who I am not, wrote against Democritus, the latter then directed his reply against me… This was the first injustice and the reason for our literary exchange. It was bad and annoying and arose solely from Democritus.[74]

Second, there is the quantity of Bröske's written contribution to the feud over against Dippel's. The scales are already weighted heavily in Bröske's favour without including the two lengthy titles by Philadelphus Heraclitus. Bröske's polemical works outnumber Dippel's ten titles to six, and 400 pages to 125 pages. Third, there are some features of the anonymous writer's style that are distinctive compared to Bröske's: a penchant for proverbs (he cites three in the two *Sendschreiben*);[75] use of especially vivid language;[76] and citation of a story about Augustine drawn from church history.[77]

Finally, there are two other possible candidates for Philadelphus, namely Johann Wilhelm Petersen and Henrich Georg Neuß, Superintendent in Wernigerode.[78] Petersen is the most likely. He is known to have used the pseudonym, *Mit-Gliede der philadelphischen Gemeinde* in a work published in Offenbach just shortly before the Bröske-Dippel

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[74] "Als der Heraclitus der ich nicht bin gegen den Democritus schriebe da richtete dieser seine antwort gerade gegen mich… Dieses war das erste unrecht und der Grund unserer Schrifft Wechselung, das war nun böse und ärgerlich und kam allein vom Democrito her." Bröske, *Augen-Salbe*, p. 29.

[75] See Philadelphi Heracliti, *Christ-Brüderliches Send-Schreiben*, pp. 6 and 23 where he writes: "Zudem so ist dir auch das gemeine Sprich-Wort gar wohl bekandt, daß allzu spitz nicht steche und daß allzu scharff nicht schneide…" ("the common saying that something too pointed doesn't stick, and something too sharp doesn't cut"); and secondly, "…und könte hierher einer und der andere das bekante Sprichwort wohl bringen das da sagt: Wann man unter die Hunde wirfft den man trifft der galbet." See also Philadelphi Heracliti, *Gemilderte Thränen*, p. 55, where the author writes, "Dann dem Herrn ist ohn mein weiteres Erinnern schon zur Gnüge bekannt das allgemeine Sprichwort daß man sich mit Koth nicht kan reine waschen." ("…the common saying that one cannot wash oneself clean with mud.")

[76] A metaphor and simile by Philadelphus are especially noteworthy: "…so verwundere ich mich über den Herrn daß er auß einer Mücke einen Elephanten weiß zu machen"; "Es gehe dem Herrn in diesem Stück wie der Sau welche sich nach der Schwemme wieder in dem Koth wältzet und wie dem Hund der da wieder frisset was er einmal gespieen…" Philadelphi Heracliti, *Gemilderte Thränen*, pp. 19, 58f.

[77] See Philadelphi Heracliti, *Christ-Brüderliches Send-Schreiben*, p. 26.

[78] Neuß wrote *Epistel ad Philadelphum* (1696) and *Probatio Spiritus et Doctrinae Democriti, das ist Prüfung des Geistes und der Lehre Christiani Democriti Sonst Dippel genannt* (Frankfurt: 1701). Interestingly, he too says that he writes "at the bidding of Christian friends." He too held a position in the state church. He too interacted closely with Dippel's *Glaubens-Bekanntniß*, enabling comparisons between the anonymous work and his published acknowledged work.

feud;[79] could he also be Philadelphus Heraclitus? His views on baptism and external ceremonies were the same as Bröske's.[80] Like Bröske, Petersen was an enthusiastic chiliast and at the same time had held state church positions. Petersen was a prolific author and could easily have found the time to compose the two anonymous treatises. During the time of the feud he was living comfortably under the protection of a court nobleman from Berlin, Dodo von Knyphausen. Dismissed from his office as Superintendent in Lüneburg in January 1692, over the next three and a half decades Petersen was free to write and to make preaching tours to various Pietist courts and conventicles.[81]

The Theological Issues: Spiritualism and Sectarianism

In addition to the *ad hominem*, almost frivolous, side to their conflict, there were also some significant theological differences that came into discussion. The two men displayed profound differences in understanding on the role of outward sacraments, the nature of Christian renewal and regeneration, and the meaning of impartiality, separatism and sectarianism. What exactly did it mean to be impartial (*unparteiisch*), and who was guilty of partisanship and sectarianism?

In late 1700, Dippel wrote a comparatively short treatise (twenty-three pages) on the subject of baptism: Die *wahre Wasser-Tauf der Christen aus Gottes Wort beschrieben durch Christianum Democritum* (The True Water Baptism of Christians explained from God's Word by Christian Democritus). Echoing Caspar Schwenckfeld's arguments against Lutheran views on the sacraments in the sixteenth century, Dippel warned that "Babel's" emphasis upon outward ceremonies in worship obscured and darkened Christ and his righteousness. The issue had to do with the nature of the new birth and the spiritual foundation of the new life:

> The conflict has to do not with opinions and ceremonies as such but with the idolatrous delusion which the people have in relation to them and which is presented to them by their teachers from their youth on up, namely that the old man can of his own abilities perform all such

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[79] Johann Wilhelm Petersen, *Das ewige Evangelium Der Allgemeinen Wiederbringung Aller Creaturen, Wie solche unter andern in rechter Erkäntniß Des Mittlern Zustandes der Seelen nach dem Tode tieff gegründet ist. Von einem Mit-Gliede D. Ph. G. Zu Ende ist beygefüget ein kurtzer ANHANG* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1698).

[80] Petersen, *Beweiß der Kinder-Tauffe wieder die Catabaptisten, so heutiges Tages sich wieder regen.*

[81] Wallmann, *Der Pietismus*, pp. 147f.

> works (Lord's supper, baptism). But in fact to call Christ Lord, that is to choose him as king and master and to place oneself under His yoke, no one can do apart from the Holy Ghost.[82]

Spiritual realities cannot be mediated by material forms and rituals. The churches were filled with nominal Christians who had mere letter acquaintance with Christ and no "true obedience of faith through which Christ becomes our all."[83] The theologians attributed their own meaning to the letters of scripture, lacking God's word within them. "The Reformed find in the Bible the Reformed word of God, the Lutherans the Lutheran." God's judgment on these errors, on the Babel of Christendom, was near.[84]

Dippel examined all the major passages in the New Testament where water baptism is discussed. He observed that water baptism existed among the Jews as a sign of the purity that would come under the New Covenant. John the Baptist, for example, taught a baptism of repentance. This material sign was typical of Judaism's legal and fleshly approach to religion.[85] As a Jewish ceremony, water baptism clearly did not belong to the treasure of the gospel; Christ was the end of the law with its legalistic and typological practices. Christ's command to baptize all nations had no abiding validity. And infant baptism had no support in scripture or church history. Anyone who interpreted scripture differently did violence to the Biblical text and "revealed that he was no scholar of the Greek language."[86] Dippel concluded by addressing four practical questions: whether a preacher in his day could baptize with good conscience; whether small children should be baptized; whether a true Christian should allow his child to be baptized; and whether Christians who had separated from the ordinances of Babel should

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[82] "Der Streit gilt nicht um Meinungen und Ceremonien als solche sondern um den Abgöttischen Wahn den die Leute dabey haben und der ihnen von ihren Lehrern von Jugend auf bey gebracht wird…Dann der alte Mensch kan ja aus seinen eigenen Kräfften alle solche Wercke (Nachtmal, Tauffe) auf sich nehmen, aber Christum einen Herrn nennen das ist ihn zum König und Meister sich erwehlen und sich seinem Joch unterwerffen kan niemand ohne den Heiligen Geist." Johann Konrad Dippel, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauf der Christen aus Gottes Wort beschrieben* (1700), in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), p. 586.

[83] Dippel, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauff der Christen*, pp. 584f.

[84] "Weil das Gericht über die Hure Babels nahe ist…lasset Gott heut zu Tag alle diese menschliche Ordnungen im Gottesdienst vernichten." Ibid., p. 586.

[85] Ibid., pp. 588f.

[86] Ibid., pp. 591–593.

re-establish the sacraments according to the institution of Christ. To them all, Dippel answered in the negative.[87]

Bröske interpreted Dippel's treatise as a direct challenge to his own views on baptism.[88] In response, Bröske composed two works on baptism.[89] In early 1701, he published a work whose title closely approximated Dippel's: *Die wahre Christen-Tauffe auß Gottes Wort beschrieben.* In the foreword, Bröske insisted that his only purpose in writing was edification; to that end he would present his views "without any jealously or partisanship." It was not his intent to cause a "renewal of squabbling" in Christendom, nor to attack the name of anyone.[90] Bröske proceeded to cover the same ground as Dippel: the baptism of John the Baptist and the Apostles, the question of infant baptism, the practice of baptism in the early church, and whether faith must precede baptism. He invariably came to very different conclusions than Dippel.

Bröske challenged the idea that John's baptism was a continuation of Jewish practice, or that the baptism taught by Christ to his disciples in Matthew 28:19, 20 was "a Jewish ceremony established merely for the sake of the Jews."[91] Christ's command to baptize was the foundation not only of the Apostolic office but of the whole teaching office in the New Testament, and must not be changed or adjusted.[92] Baptism was an essential part of God's strategy for proclaiming the gospel to the world. "As long as God has had a church in this world, alongside the word God has also set before the eyes of his people some visible things with which to portray spiritual, heavenly and divine matters."[93] Bröske was unwilling to join Dippel in denying material means a role in Christian worship.

Bröske affirmed seven truths about baptism: it is part of the official duty entrusted by Christ to servants of the New Testament; it is a visible word which teaches spiritual things; it is a proclamation of penance through the death of the old man; and a proclamation of renewal

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[87] Ibid., pp. 595–600.

[88] Bröske, *Augen-Salbe*, p. 12.

[89] Conrad Bröske, *Die wahre Christen-Tauffe auß Gottes Wort beschrieben* (Offenbach: Bonvaventura de Launoy, 1701), and *Wahre Christen-Tauffe wie auch Die Gültigkeit der Kinder-Tauffe, Verthädiget wider den so genanten Probier-Stein dieser Tauffen* (Offenbach: Bonvaventura de Launoy, 1702).

[90] Bröske, "Vorrede," *Die wahre Christen-Tauffe auß Gottes Wort beschrieben*.

[91] Bröske, *Die wahre Christen-Tauffe auß Gottes Wort beschrieben*, pp. 6–8.

[92] Ibid., pp. 19f.

[93] Ibid., pp. 8f.

through the resurrection of the new man; it is an outward visible symbol and sign which represents to our minds secret invisible things; it is a picture of the washing away of our sin by the blood of Christ; finally, it is a portrayal of our cleansing from sinful existence through the Holy Spirit. It is appropriate that baptism should serve as our incorporation into the body of Christ.[94] Baptism is, in fact, "a means of salvation" just as the word of scripture is a means of salvation.

On the question of infant baptism, Bröske argued that children as well as adults could be baptized in hope of the new birth and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.[95] Although Scripture made no express mention of infant baptism, early Christian writers, who lived and wrote after the time of the apostles, "prove with their testimonies that this usage was derived from nothing else than apostolic practice." "Some of the ancients of the third and fourth centuries explicitly call this [practice of infant baptism] an apostolic tradition."[96] Bröske concluded with a pointed warning, undoubtedly directed at Dippel: in the Christian past one observes that "each selfish and domineering man who achieved some power in the church . . . has sought to promote his own views"—especially on matters of baptism.[97]

Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion (The Old and New as well as Bad and Good Religion), represented a substantial and comprehensive statement of Bröske's theology.[98] Without explicitly naming Dippel, Bröske referred to the unfortunate existence of theological discord and strife, and its source in lack of understanding. "It is only too well known what kind of discord and strife there is among people on the issues of religion and worship . . . all of which arises from no other source than that people do not understand what right religion and true worship really are."[99] Bröske intended to discuss and clarify what exactly constituted right religion and true worship.

Bröske focused on the first and second Adam, the first as the father of the human race, the second as the redeemer of the human race. "The one who rightly comprehends and understands these things, of

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[94] Ibid., pp. 45–48. On the last point Bröske wrote, "Sie ist eine Einverleibung in die äusserliche Gemeinschafft der Kirchen . . ."

[95] Ibid., pp. 51f.

[96] Ibid., p. 55.

[97] Ibid., pp. 69–71.

[98] Conrad Bröske, *Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion* (Offenbach: Bonvaventura de Launoy, 1701) (64 pages).

[99] Ibid., p. 3.

him one can say that he is instructed in the kingdom of heaven because he knows how to bring forth both old and new out of the treasure."[100] Bröske's book moved through a discussion of Adam in his prosperity as image of God and then in his ruin and fall. Adam was bound to God in creation by a "covenant of works" ("*Bunde der Wercke*") and was given the promise of life and dominion for his obedience. The commands represented tests and stages on the way to a higher blessedness. By his disobedience Adam disturbed the orderly chain of creation and brought on himself "every infernal anxiety and pain."[101] Christ came as the strong king to destroy the kingdom of Satan and to re-establish the order of God's kingdom. Bröske discussed the articles of the Apostles' Creed in describing the work of Christ, the second Adam. Christ fulfilled the covenant of works and God's commandments, and then triumphantly bore the wrath of God on humanity's behalf in his crucifixion and resurrection.[102] This was God's objective work of grace outside the sinner, bringing justification ("*Rechtfertigung*"). This outward work must be complemented by a corresponding inward work of grace, namely sanctification ("*Heiligung*").

The last third of the treatise considers the means for attaining this sanctification. According to Bröske, sanctification could only be realized by the inward renewing of the Holy Spirit.[103] This meant that worship and the sacraments had to be experienced inwardly or they were without benefit: "…the reasonable worship that scripture so greatly honours and that people demand has its proper place within the reasonable human soul, and cannot in the least consist in outward and bodily exercises."[104] The exercise of outward ceremonies in worship was neither good nor bad in itself, but a middle thing ("*Mittel-Ding*"), depending upon the faith of the one participating in them.[105]

There is one treatise by Dippel in which he interacted directly with Bröske's theology: *Christlich-gesinntes Send-Schreiben an Herrn Conrad*

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[100] "Wer diese Dinge recht einsiehet und verstehet von dem kan man sagen daß er gelehrt ist zum Himmelreiche dieweil er beydes altes und neues auß dem Schatze der Erkäntnüß hervor zu langen weiß." Ibid., p. 5.

[101] "…alle höllische Angst und Pein." Ibid., pp. 9f., 15.

[102] Ibid., pp. 18–23.

[103] Ibid., pp. 39, 42. "die Erneurung durch den H. Geist."

[104] "…der in H. Schrifft so hoch gespriesene und von dem Menschen geforderte vernünfftige Gottesdienst seinen rechten und eigentlichen Sitz innerlich in dem vernünfftigen Geiste hat und gar nicht in äusserlichen und leiblichen Ubungen bestehen kan." Ibid., p. 44.

[105] Ibid., p. 46.

Brüßken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach (A Christian-minded Open Letter to Mr. Conrad Bröske, Court Preacher in Offenbach) (1701).[106] Here Dippel engaged in an extensive critique of Bröske's book, *Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion*, working through it systematically. Dippel saw Bröske's treatise as an attack on himself and his Spiritualist conviction that sacraments and ceremonies should not be observed at all by the spiritual Christian. He said that Bröske's discussion of Adam in innocence under a covenant of works reflected typical scholastic methodology, without scriptural foundation. Bröske would do well to read Jakob Böhme or Petrus Poiret. Against Bröske's Reformed theology of predestinating grace, Dippel argued for "complete freedom of the will."[107] Dippel was especially impatient with Bröske's discussion of Christ's objective satisfaction "outside" of mankind. This was a sectarian and unbiblical hypothesis, according to Dippel. For Dippel, justification was no mere "outward imputation" ("*äusserliche Zurechnung*") but life, light, salvation and sanctification.[108] "Where is godliness apart from fellowship with God?"[109] While Bröske opposed the idea of Christian "perfection" in this life, Dippel argued for it: "If someone is in Christ, he is a new creature…a creation of God without sin. The one born of God does not sin."[110] He rejected Bröske's distinction between justification and sanctification; it was good orthodoxy, but not biblical.

Bröske's suggestion, that Christians should not separate from "Babel" but rather stay and work for its healing, represented an affront to pious Christians, said Dippel. "We are hated and persecuted for this very reason, that we discover the wounds that are nearly beyond healing."[111] Those who thought they could stay and serve in Babel and purify it were deceiving themselves. Despite the efforts of the Pietists, the state churches had proved ineffective in producing real Christians.

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[106] Johann Konrad Dippel, *Christlich-gesinntes Send-Schreiben an Herrn Conrad Brüßken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, worin…sein letzt-publicirtes Scriptum genannt: Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion mit nützlichen und nöthigen Anmerckungen Den Wahrheits-Begierigen Seelen zum Besten, weiter erkläret und illustriret wird* (Offenbach: Bonvaventura de Launoy, 1701) (56 pages), in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709).

[107] "eine völlige Freiheit des Willens." Ibid., pp. 967–973.

[108] Ibid., pp. 985f.

[109] "Wo ist Seeligkeit ausser der Gemeinschaft mit Gott?" Ibid., pp. 974, 977.

[110] "ist jemand in Christo so ist er eine neue Creatur…ein Geschöpf Gottes das ohne Sünde ist; wer aus Gott gebohren der sundiget nicht." Ibid., p. 983.

[111] "Wir werden eben darum gehasset und verfolget weil wir die Wunde entdecken die fast unheilbar ist." Ibid., p. 988.

> No other fruit appears than that which one perceives till now among the majority of such Pietists: that the whole state of Christendom . . . remains unchanged in its malice of heart: proud, covetous, lustful, obstinate, sectarian, orthodox, quarrelsome, vindictive, and such.[112]

For Dippel the confessional churches, orthodox theologians, and Pietists such as Bröske were all "sectarian" (sectirisch) because they denounced and persecuted good Christian people like himself. For Bröske, on the other hand, it was Dippel's separatism that was sectarian because it only served to increase the divisions within Christendom. These two adherents of the Philadelphian vision followed it to two very different destinations and conclusions. While denouncing the confessional church for its lack of spirituality, Bröske was still remarkably Reformed in his theology, as Dippel rightly saw.

Observations about the Conduct of the Feud

The way in which Bröske and Dippel conducted themselves in this feud reveals much about the personality and character of each. First, the vigour of the feud reflected a high degree of stubbornness and tenacity that drove each man to have the final word. In all, some eighteen treatises were published by the participants in the dispute. In the year 1700 alone there were fifteen different exchanges, both written and verbal. While both men were prolific, Bröske's contribution adds up to about twice as many pages as Dippel's. Bröske authored ten works compared to Dippel's six, assuming Bröske did not author the two *Sendschreiben* (published open letters) addressed to Dippel by the anonymous Philadelphus Heraclitus. The debate had been going on for about a year when Dippel commented, "Up to this point one would have to conclude from my writings that I have been altogether

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[112] "Kein andere Frucht kommet als die man biß hieher an den meisten solcher Pietisten wahrgenommen: daß der gantze Staat solches Christenthums in der Erkanntnuß einiger moralität oder gesetzlichen Gerechtigkeit . . . dabey das hertz in seinen Tücken ungeändert bleibet: Hoffartig, Geitzig, Wollustig, Eigensinnig, Sectirisch, Orthodox, Zancksuchtig, Rachgierig, u. dergleichen." Dippel, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauff*, pp. 584f. Dippel also attacked the authorities in church and state in another writing in 1700, *Christenstadt auf Erden ohne gewöhnlichen Lehr-, Wehr- und Nährstand*. "Hand in Hand damit ging die Leugnung aller Autorität in Staat und Kirche, die Verwerfung der vom kirchlichen Pietismus unangetastet gelassenen Ständeordnung." Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck),1993), p. 143.

too stubborn in such controversies."[113] Bröske concurred: "I have never met up with anyone more stubborn and steadfast in erroneous views and false concepts than Dippel."[114]

Second, as the feud came to involve a fairly large public, including the curious as well as numerous sympathizers on each side, both men became conscious of their reputation and their performance before a watching world. Early on Bröske noted that,

> …now many hundreds are informed and in future would undoubtedly take the responses of Heraclitus for my writings if I did not avert such an assumption from myself by a frank and public affirmation…Finally, I must tell the gentleman that since the time when Heraclitus went into print, many self-described godly people are inquiring whether I am the author.[115]

Dippel likewise indicated his awareness of a watching world: "Conrad Bröske, Court Preacher in Offenbach, doubtless knows only too well how we have quarreled in writing concerning a certain person to the great scandal of many pious people and to the enjoyment of the other sort of people."[116] Dippel believed that Bröske was in league with others to defame him: "Let the gentleman now know that I am assured on the basis of completely infallible grounds that his friends in Gießen and Darmstadt (with whom he entered in league against me in one dark hour) induced him to precisely such an undertaking."[117] Bröske had a

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[113] "Es möchte bis hieher aus meinen Schrifften fast nothwendig geschlossen werden als ob ich in dergleichen Strittigkeiten allzu hartnäckig erfunden würde." Dippel, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauf der Christen*, p. 583.

[114] "Ich habe nie keinen menschen hartnäckichter und beharrlicher in irrigen concepten und falschen einbildungen angetroffen als eben denselbigen [i.e. Dippel]." Bröske, *Augen-Salbe*, p. 3.

[115] "…nun viele hunderte auff die Gedancken gebracht werden und des Heracliti seine Antworten künfftig hin ungezweifelt vor meine Sachen halten würden wann ich nicht durch eine eben so freymüthige und offentliche Bezeugung gedachtes Vorurtheil von mir abwendete…Schließlich muß ich den Herrn berichten daß seit der Zeit der Heraclitus im Drucke ist viele von denen welche vor fromm wollen gehalten seyn durch allerhand listige Fragen bald bey diesem bald bey jenem sich erkundiget ob ich der Author seye…" Bröske, *Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus*, pp. 3, 15.

[116] "Ihme [Bröske] wird ohne Zweiffel mehr also zu viel bewußt seyn wie zum grossen Ärgerniß vieler Frommen, und zur Freude der Widrig-gesinnten, zwischen Herrn Conrad Brüßken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, und mir über eine Person sey schrifftlich controvertirt (gestritten) worden…" Dippel, *letzte Erinnerung*, p. 950.

[117] "So wisse nun der Herr daß ich aus einem ganz ohnfelhlbaren Grunde so gewiss bin daß…ihn seine Freunde zu Gießen und zu Darmstadt (mit welchen er zur unglücklichen Stunde wider mich in einen Bund getretten) zu solchem Unternehmen fürnehmlich verleitet." Dippel, *Kurtze Anmerckung*, p. 946.

circle of supporters in Offenbach, as well, who joined him in criticizing the leadership and piety in the churches. These included the government councillor Mettingh, the son-in-law of Johann Jacob Schütz, and Johann Henrich Reitz who lived in Offenbach from 1700 to 1703.[118] Dippel had his own defenders, including the friend in Frankfurt who paid Bröske a visit on Dippel's behalf.

Third, Bröske and Dippel each thought that his own conduct was appropriate; it was the other who was guilty of bitterness, anger, lies and prejudice. Bröske wrote:

> Dippel's *Anmerckung und Antwort* (Observation and Response) to my two published letters, a treatise full of slanderous untruths, he calls in his *letzten Erinnerung* a well-meaning reminder for me. My own true and sincere response he calls mere angry injustice, rage, impotence, indeed more like ill-considered revenge. Such prejudiced self-love and other crude blunders ill become one who claims that he writes at God's bidding.[119]

Bröske complained at length about Dippel's style of writing: his writing lacked any spirit of peace; Dippel wrote in a prickly fashion (eine "stachliche Schreibart"); he wrote with the proud attitude that he alone had understanding, despising the views of others; he acted without love when he judged that there were very few Christians in the world; and Dippel was too hot-tempered.[120] Even Dippel's best friends knew that they could not trust Dippel to speak the truth. "I can prove that he is the kind of person whose words not even his own friends can trust, even when stated with the highest degree of assurance."[121]

In response, Dippel insisted that in theological debate his only motives were to defend the honour of Christ and to edify. "My whole intent

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[118] Rudiger Mack noted: "Um Bröske sammelte sich eine kirchenkritische Gruppe, zu der der Regierungsrat Mettingh, der Schwiegersohn von J.J. Schütz, und Johann Henrich Reitz gehörten. Reitz wohnte 1700–1703 in Offenbach." Rudiger Mack, "Forschungsbericht: Pietismus in Hessen," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 13 (1987), p. 216. See also Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," pp. 407, 420, 437 n. 228.

[119] "Seine [Dippels] *Anmerckung und Antwort* auff meine beyde Sendschreiben, eine Schrifft voll verleumderischen unwahrheiten, nennet er in seiner *letzten Erinnerung*… eine wohlgemeinte Erinnerung an mich, und meine wahrhafftige und auffrichtige Antwort darauff heisset er nur grimm ungerechtigkeit, zorn, unvermögen, ja mehr als unbedachtsame rache… Solche partheiische eigen-liebe und andere grobe fehler stehen keinem solchen Manne nicht an der da sagt daß er auff Gottes geheiß schreibt." Bröske, *Augen-Salbe*, pp. 23, 24.

[120] Dippel, *Aufrichtig-Christliche Antwort*, pp. 941f.

[121] "Ich kan beweisen daß er ein solcher mensch ist dessen worten auch seine beste freunde nicht trauen dürffen wann sie selbsten zum versicherlichsten gegeben worden." Bröske, *Augen-Salbe*, p. 10.

till now in my polemical writings has been to set forth salvation in Jesus Christ."[122] Christ himself "came to light a fire and bring war to the earth." Strong language was needed sometimes to help poor, blind people discover their blindness and folly. If Bröske took offence, the cause lay with Bröske himself: "The offence of my writings comes only on those who choose to be annoyed by them."[123] Dippel then turned the tables and complained about Bröske's harsh pen. Bröske had attacked him too sharply in his *recht beschämte Democritus*. Bröske responded that harsh words were justified in certain circumstances, especially when a person was deeply entrenched in error. Such a man was Dippel: "…he shows himself in this matter not in the least the kind of person that one could correct with a gentle encouraging spirit, but rather one who must be snatched with force from the fire of ruin into which he has fallen through carelessness and in which he has remained through his stubbornness."[124] Back and forth the argument went.

Fourth, the feud was punctuated by three face to face confrontations, two involving representatives from Bröske and Dippel, and one face to face meeting between the two men. This was Bröske's preferred forum for debate; he would have happily avoided the public scrutiny that came with publication. Bröske believed as well that discussion represented the best means for resolving their differences. Early on Bröske sent a messenger to intercede with Dippel before he went into print with the claim that Bröske had authored the *Sendschreiben* by Philadelphus Heraclitus. In the second instance, Dippel's friend from Frankfurt came to assure Bröske that Dippel would no longer continue the written feud. Finally, there was a lengthy meeting between the two disputants in which Bröske hoped to clear things up once and for all, but without success. In fact, he says, it only made matters worse.[125]

While Bröske sought to avoid a public debate, Dippel thought it best to dispute in writing. "Dippel has personally told me and others,"

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[122] "Mein gantzes intent biß hieher in meinen Streit-Schrifften ist das Heil in Jesu Christo zu zeigen." Dippel, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauff der Christen*, pp. 583f.

[123] "Es gilt mir um nichts, als um die Ehre Jesu Christi…das Ärgerniß meiner Schrifften falle nur denjenigen in die Augen, die da müssen geärgert werden." Dippel, *Aufrichtig-Christliche Antwort*, pp. 941, 943, 944.

[124] "…dieweil er sich in dieser sache gar nicht erweiset also einen solchen dem man könne zu rechte helffen mit sanfft mütigem Geiste sondern der mit einiger gewalt auß diesem feuer des verderbens in welches er sich durch unvorsichtigkeit gestürzet und nun halsstarrigerweise dabey verharret muß gerissen werden." Bröske, *Augen-Salbe*, pp. 27f.

[125] Ibid., p. 4.

wrote Bröske, "that he would prefer that I come out against him in public, which I have herewith proceeded to do [in *Augen-Salbe*]."[126] Bröske later described his own written contributions to the feud as *Scharteken*—worthless rubbish. As occasional pieces, focused on the circumstances of a personal dispute Bröske thought they held little value for a wider audience.[127]

Finally, it is somewhat surprising that almost all of the publications on *both* sides of the dispute were printed in Offenbach. Of the eighteen treatises that the participants exchanged, fourteen were published in Bröske's town. Of the six items authored by Dippel, three were published under Bröske's oversight as court censor. This circumstance may suggest genuine equanimity and benevolence towards Dippel on Bröske's part, or that Bröske decided that going public with their differences would serve to vindicate his own reputation.[128]

Throughout this dispute the two men offered an unseemly display of stubbornness and self-righteousness, a concern for personal reputation, and a sharp tone that left no room for reconciliation. Neither one could claim the high moral ground of respectability and restraint. These observations reveal something of the culture of theological disputation during the hey day of German orthodoxy, a culture that was clearly common to Pietism as well.[129] The vigour of the dispute, the watchful public audience, the polemical writing style and the readiness to go into print to defend an opinion, reflect the print culture of Protestant theological disputation after the age of Luther.

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[126] "Dippel hat mir [Bröske] und andern ins angesichte gesagt, er möchte lieber leyden dass ich öffentlich gegen ihn zeuge, welches dann hiermit geschiehet (in *Augen-Salbe*)." Ibid., p. 27.

[127] Bröske "Brief," p. 6.

[128] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 148–151, 442 n. 93. The Offenbach press published Dippel's critical reply to two tracts by Conrad Bröske. "Evidently the Offenbach censor (Bröske) permitted publication of radical Pietist tracts even when they interacted critically with Offenbach's own church leadership, so long as they agreed with it on higher common goals."

[129] See Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung: Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997). Stephan Goldschmidt attributes Dippel's skills in theological argument to his education in the orthodox culture of disputation. "Die Art und Weise, wie er seine theologischen Auseinandersetzungen führte, hat ihr Vorbild in der orthodoxen Streitkultur." See Goldschmidt, *Johann Konrad Dippel*, p. 182.

Conclusion

Bröske and Dippel shared remarkably similar backgrounds, education, convictions about the need for renewal in church and society, and hopes for the soon-coming millennial kingdom. Despite these similarities, the two men's personal, professional and political fortunes diverged dramatically. Dippel was unsuccessful in making a good marriage and failed to gain a Gießen professorship. Bröske achieved precisely the goals that Dippel failed to attain. Bröske won a secure and influential position, becoming court preacher in Offenbach, and made a favourable marriage to Luisa von Eisenberg, half-sister to Count Johann Philipp II of Ysenburg-Offenbach. These diverging experiences helped to shape their different social and theological outlooks and contributed to the passions that drove their feud.

Over the course of Bröske's feud with Dippel, several features of Bröske's personality and mindset have become apparent. The polemics reveal that Bröske could be stubborn, tiresome and self-righteous. Like Dippel, he had imbibed the orthodox culture of disputation and always rose to the challenge in self-defence. Bröske's cautious and conservative outlook, evident in chapters one to four, came into play. Although denouncing the confessional church for its lack of spirituality, Bröske remained Reformed in much of his theology, as Dippel rightly saw. Bröske retained liturgical practices and sacraments as "middle things," neither good nor bad in themselves; they became so according to the faith of the user. Bröske was passionate in his rejection of separatism: "I can assure the gentleman that when I hear of sectarianisms, especially of the creation of new sects these days, invariably a shiver runs over me."[130] To forsake the outward church was simply to increase division within Christendom. On political matters, Bröske was astute in knowing when to bow to higher authority. His actions as censor in agreeing to confiscate copies of Dippel's book are a good example of this. He was not about to jeopardize his position, even for the sake of a fellow Philadelphian.

The feud reveals Bröske as a man caught between paradigms, between Sardis and Philadelphia. Dippel perceptively pointed out to Bröske the

[130] "Ja ich kann den Herrn versichern, wann ich von Sectirereyen höre insonheit neuen die man jetzt erst machen will…daß mir allemal ein Schauder über die Haut laufft…" Bröske, *Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus*, p. 8.

quality of indecisiveness that was apparent to him and others. "He has sought till now to stand at once on both sides, and through the power of his own intellect to combine old and new, good and bad with each other."[131] Dippel viewed Bröske's good fortune as evidence of compromise and accommodation to the demands of the worldly authorities. Bröske's dual existence would come back to haunt him a couple of years later when the Elberfeld Classis challenged his Reformed credentials and labeled him a chiliast and *Schwärmer*.

[131] "Er hat biß hieher gesuchet auf beyden Seiten zugleich zu stehen, und durch die Würcksamkeit seines Verstandes altes und neues, gutes und böses unter einander zu mischen…" Dippel, *Christlich-gesinntes Send-Schreiben an Herrn Conrad Brüßken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach*, p. 990.

CHAPTER NINE

DISPUTE WITH THE REFORMED PREACHERS IN ELBERFELD, 1704–1706

From November 1704 until mid 1706 Conrad Bröske was involved in a bitter dispute with the Reformed preachers of the Elberfeld Classis.[1] This conflict came on the heels of his intense and acrimonious feud with fellow Philadelphian, Johann Konrad Dippel, just two years earlier. Bröske now faced opposition from the opposite flank. He was accused by the Elberfeld Classis of compromising Reformed teachings on the church, sacraments and kingdom of God. When the Reformed Church in Elberfeld called Bröske as its second preacher, the Classis challenged the decision. The controversy provides insight into the conflicts and church politics that dominated the religious landscape at this time as well as into Bröske's temperament and personality.

The Philadelphian Movement in Elberfeld: Max Goebel's Overview

Elberfeld is situated about thirty kilometres east of Düsseldorf, in the Ruhr region of northwestern Germany.[2] In the seventeenth century there was one Reformed church in Elberfeld. On the 22nd of May, 1687, fire destroyed the Reformed church and more than 350 houses. With the help of the faithful the church was rebuilt within two years.[3] Thanks to special regional privileges, the small municipality of Elberfeld was soon thriving again. By 1719 it numbered some 3,000 people,

[1] The "Classis" was a district of neighbouring Reformed churches or the assembled representatives of those churches, equivalent to the Presbytery in Presbyterian polity. The delegates to the Classis included the minister and an elder from each church. Normally power resided in the Consistory of the local church; the Classis would oversee congregations and ordain and discipline clergy; above the Classis was the Synod, made up of representatives from each Classis. See L. Praamsma, "Classis," in Philip E. Hughes, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Christianity, vol. III* (Marshallton: National Foundation for Christian Education, 1972), p. 12.

[2] Elberfeld has been incorporated into modern day Wuppertal.

[3] Albert Rosenkranz, *Das Evangelische Rheinland: Ein Rheinisches Gemeinde- und Pfarrerbuch, Bd. I: Die Gemeinden* (1956), p. 227.

leaving behind the far older sister cities of Solingen and Düsseldorf, the Prince's residence city.[4]

In fall of 1703, within a one month period, the Reformed church in Elberfeld was shocked by the deaths of its two pastors,[5] Andreas Austen of Rinteln and Peter Türk, at forty-five and forty-four years of age respectively. In Austen's place Johann Grüter (1663–1718) was called as first preacher. The election of the second preacher followed in November of 1704. Bröske had a significant number of supporters among the electors and members of the Consistory. For some time there had been in the Elberfeld church a large group of Philadelphian sympathizers who were acquainted with Bröske's writings and other works emanating from the press of de Launoy in Offenbach. Bröske successfully won election as second preacher and was duly called.[6]

Albert Rosenkranz's 1958 *Pfarrerbuch* (Pastor Book) reversed the positions of the two pastors, Austen and Türk. Rosenkranz's lists show Andreas Austen as second preacher in Elberfeld from 1691 until his death in September 1703, and Peter Türck as first preacher from 1696 until his death in October 1703.[7] According to Rosenkranz, in 1704 Johann Grüter followed Austen as second preacher, and Bröske was elected first preacher. In 1706, after Bröske declined, Bernhard Meyer was elected first preacher, remaining until his death in 1730.[8] There is a certain appeal to Rosenkranz's view of things. Bröske was three years older than Grüter, and had for some years been serving as first preacher and court preacher in Offenbach, albeit a smaller parish than

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[4] Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche. Bd. III, Die niederrheinische reformirte Kirche und der Separatismus in Wittgenstein und am Niederrhein im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Theodor Link, ed. (Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1860), pp. 450f.

[5] By the early eighteenth century, Protestant churches frequently had two pastors. "It was often the case that the pastor had a helper or deacon at his side who was related to him in a subordinate position of service, while in his clerical competence he was reckoned equal to him." Eventually the titles deacon and archdeacon were renamed "second preacher" and "third preacher." D. Albert Hauck, ed., *Realencycklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 15. Band* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1904), p. 248. See also Matthias Simon, *Bayreuthisches Pfarrerbuch* (München: Verlag Christian Kaiser, 1930), p. x n. 1.

[6] Goebel, *Bd. III*, pp. 452f. "Er hatte wegen seiner frommen unparteiischen und philadelphischen Gesinnung schon seit längerer Zeit eine entschiedene und große Partei unter dem Wahlcollegium, den Consistorialen und Gemeindevorstehern oder Beamten in der Elberfelder Gemeinde für sich, so daß er förmlich gewählt und berufen wurde."

[7] See Albert Rosenkranz, *Das Evangelische Rheinland, Ein Rheinisches Gemeinde- und Pfarrerbuch, Bd. II: Die Pfarrer* (1958), pp. 14, 527.

[8] Rosenkranz, *Das Evangelische Rheinland, Bd. II*, pp. 174, 333.

Elberfeld. His previous experience and responsibilities qualified Bröske to serve in the more responsible role of first preacher.

The archival evidence decides the matter in Goebel's favour. Consistory minutes of the Reformed Church in Elberfeld recorded: "Within a month, the deaths of both pastors occurred in rapid succession. On the sixth of September, 1703 the first preacher Andreas Austen died, and the second preacher Peter Türck followed him on the sixth of October, 1703."[9] The official *Beruffschein* for Bernhard Meyer stated that Meyer "was called as second preacher in Elberfeld in place of Peter Türck."[10] Goebel, then, was correct in stating that Johann Grüter was chosen to replace Austen as first preacher.

Controversy followed immediately upon Bröske's election. Johann Grüter, the recently appointed first preacher, angrily opposed the church's decision. Before the election, Grüter had sent a circular letter to preachers in the Classis, seeking their judgment as to the propriety of electing a preacher from outside the Classis (*der Wahl eines fremden Predigers*). He was concerned that the Classis had yet to receive reliable testimonies to Bröske's "pure teaching, blameless life and good behaviour" (*Zeugnisse von dessen reiner Lehre, unärgerlichem Leben und gutem Wandel*). The Consistory of the Elberfeld church became embittered against Grüter for sending the circular letter without its prior knowledge.[11] Even when the Classis voted ten to one against Bröske's candidacy, the church went ahead with the election on November 7, 1704. After Bröske's win, Grüter again turned to his fellow clergy for support in overturning the decision. The Elberfeld Classis made a formal objection and forbade the church from issuing an official invitation to Bröske. At a meeting of the Classis on December 15, 1704, the preachers identified forty-two "strange, dangerous, offensive expressions and dogmas" in Bröske's writings,[12] and raised the matter for investigation by the

[9] "Sind der Ereignisse in der Geschichte unserer Gemeinde ist das innerhalb eine Monat und das selben Jahr nachfolgend Tod der beyden Hirten. Es starb nämlich am 6 Sept. 1703 der erste Pastor Andreas Austen und ihm folgte am 6 Oct. 1703 der zweite Pastor Peter Türk…" Archiv der Ev. reformierte Gemeinde Elberfeld: Elberfelde Kirche, Gemeinde Amt, 11–4.4 Personalakten der Pfarrer.

[10] In the Staatsarchiv Düsseldorf this author located a copy of the official *Beruffschein* for Bernhard Meyer. The *Beruffschein* stated that Meyer, "zum zweiten Prediger zu Elberfelt, an statt Petri Türckii…beruffen worden." Staatsarchiv Düsseldorf: Julich Berg II 4592 Reformirte Predigern Stelle zu Elberfelt, 1704–1803 vol. I (RW 201/33).

[11] Goebel, *Bd. III*, pp. 451–453.

[12] Ibid., p. 453. "fremde, gefährliche, unschriftmäßige und anstößige Redearten und Lehrsätze."

Provincial Synod. The Classis warned Bröske against accepting the improper call.

Bröske professed to be deeply offended and angered by the actions of the Classis. In March 1705 he published his *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede* (Legitimate Defence) in which he complained at length about the hasty and arbitrary behaviour of the Classis. The Classis responded with its *Gerechtsame Ablehnung* (Justified Refusal), followed in turn by Bröske's *Billige Zurückweisung* (Reasonable Challenge). The Classis replied in 1706 with the *Wohlbegründete Verthädigung der Wahrheit und Unschuld der Elberfeldischen Classe wider Brüßkes Unrechtmäßige Schutzrede wie auch wider desselben Unbillige Zurückweisung* (Well-grounded Defence of the Truth and Innocence of the Elberfeld Classis against Bröske's Illegitimate Defence as well as against his Unreasonable Challenge). The Classis followed this up with a massive critique of Bröske's millennialism entitled, *Waagschale worinnen das neu-ersonnene tausendjährige Lust-Himmlisch-Paradiesische Gerichts-Reich Herren Conraden Brößkens und dessen hierüber geführte unschrifftmässige Lehrsätze und andere Rede-Arten nach dem Gewicht des Heiligthums gerechtsam abgewogen und zu leicht befunden worden durch Evangelisch-Reformirte Prediger der Elberfeldischen Klasse im Herzogthum Berg* (Scales, in which the newly-imagined thousand year heavenly paradise of pleasure of Mr. Conrad Bröske and his non-scriptural teachings and other writings are weighed and found wanting by the Evangelical-Reformed Preachers of the Elberfeld Classis in the Duchy of Berg).[13]

The Elberfeld church consulted the theological Faculty in Frankfurt/Oder, asking them to assess Bröske's writings and views. The Frankfurt faculty found nothing seriously heterodox or sectarian in Bröske's writings that would disqualify him from being elected and called. This judgment strengthened the church Consistory's opposition against Pastor Grüter and the Classis. The Synod finally settled the dispute by a new election which appears to have satisfied the Bröske party.[14] Goebel described the Bröske election controversy as the first battle in a series

[13] Ibid., p. 454.

[14] Ibid., pp. 454, 455. Goebel concluded: "This unpleasant story continued on for some time, so that even in 1710 and 1717 misunderstandings had to be removed, which arose among some brothers of the Classis on account of the publication of a book by Brößke." This refers to the Offenbach press publishing, with Bröske's approval, works such as Thomas Bromley, *Geistreiches Tractätlein von denen Reisen der Kinder Israels. Welchen hinzu gefuget des Autoris Lebens-Beschreibung* (1710) [Gv 514], or Johann Wilhelm Petersen, *Mysterion Apokatastaseos Panton. Das Geheimniß der Wiederbringung aller Dinge… Bd. I–III* (Pamphylia/Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1701–1710).

of conflicts over Philadelphian millennialism that would disturb the Reformed church in Elberfeld right up to 1722.[15]

Revising Max Goebel's Interpretation of the Conflict

Goebel characterized the controversy as a classic Protestant theological conflict. He argued that the Elberfeld church was inwardly-oriented and held to new, erroneous, chiliastic, Philadelphian teachings. The Classis, on the other hand, followed proper outward forms and held to strict, ecclesiastical traditions of right belief.[16] For Goebel the conflict was first of all a clash of theologies and secondly one of formalities; the two sides disagreed over who held the correct theology and who was following proper procedure in appointments to church office. It is clear, however, that, besides the obvious theological differences, the controversy was fuelled by political power struggles and personality conflicts.

Johann Grüter, the Elberfeld Classis and the General Synod of Jülich-Berg and Kleve-Mark

The main parties to the controversy were the Consistory of the Reformed church in Elberfeld (Bröske's supporters), the Classis of Reformed preachers in the Elberfeld region led by Johann Grüter, and the General Synod in Jülich-Berg and Kleve-Mark.[17] Inspector Ovinius of Cronenberg described Johann Grüter as "a faithful and vigilant shepherd of his flock" and a valued teacher who defended the truth with courage against corruptions of true doctrine. He "raised his voice like a trumpet" in laying out before God's people their sins and failings. He was a "son of thunder," resembling Jesus' disciples, James and John (Mark 3:17).[18] The fact that his colleagues should choose him to serve as Inspector of the Elberfeld Classis is evidence of Grüter's leadership qualities. What Grüter may have lacked in terms of brilliance he

[15] Goebel, *Bd. III*, pp. 453–455.

[16] Ibid., pp. 453, 454 n. 1, 455.

[17] See "Berg (Grafen, Herzöge, Grafschaft, Herzogtum, Großherzogtum)," in Gerhard Köbler, *Historisches Lexikon der deutschen Länder, Sechste Auflage* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1999), pp. 53f.

[18] Goebel, *Bd. III*, p. 451. Goebel cited these descriptions of Johann Grüter from the words of Inspector Ovinius in the funeral sermon he preached for Grüter.

more than made up for in feistiness and energy. Bröske once again had met his match.

The Elberfelder Klasse (Classis) dated back to 1610 and was comprised of Reformed churches in Cronenberg, Düssel, Elberfeld, Gräfrath, Gruiten, Heiligenhaus, Langenberg, Neviges, Schöller, Sonnborn, Velbert and Wülfrath.[19] The Classis joined other churches in the lower Rhine as part of the Synod in the Duchy of Berg. These churches made the *Heidelberg Catechism* the foundation and norm of public teaching, declaring it "the only symbol book of these churches." The *Catechism* served as the teaching norm in all credentialing and certification of pastors. It was used in schools, in catechizing, and as the basis for Sunday afternoon sermons.[20] In 1702, the Elberfeld Classis financed publication of the *Elberfelder Bibel* (Elberfeld Bible). It included Luther's translation of the Bible, a songbook, the *Heidelberg Catechism*, and church prayers. Some five thousand copies were printed.[21]

Since the mid 1670s, the General Synod of Reformed Churches in Jülich-Berg and Kleve-Mark had been concerned about Pietist house meetings. Pastors were responsible for over-seeing the gatherings and for preventing participation of pastors from outside. This ruling was reaffirmed at the General Synod of 1689. There was growing concern that in some places meetings in homes, led by clergy from churches outside the region, were being held during regular public worship times. Similar concerns were expressed in 1692 and 1693. On August 21, 1693, an edict of censorship was pronounced against certain "dangerous books and tracts."[22]

In the first third of the eighteenth century, Reformed churches in the lower Rhine region found themselves increasingly bothered by

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[19] Rosenkranz, *Das Evangelische Rheinland, I. Bd.*, p. 220.

[20] Goebel, *Bd. III*, pp. 43f. Goebel observed: "The essential purpose of catechetical instruction was not preparation for the first communion, as with the Lutherans, but preparation for the public confession of faith, to which no one might be admitted without first agreeing to be publicly catechized." (pp. 49f.)

[21] Johann Friedrich Gerhard Goeters, "Der reformierte Pietismus in Bremen und am Niederrhein im 18. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann, ed., *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), p. 384.

[22] Goeters, "Der reformierte Pietismus in Bremen und am Niederrhein," p. 383. General Synod ordinances concerning private gatherings go back to 1674 and 1684. The Synod recognized the legitimate place of such gatherings, but held Pastors accountable for assuring proper conduct of the meetings. Pastors should prevent unqualified laity or foreign clergy (fremde Pastoren) from giving leadership.

a variety of separatist groups and individuals. These included Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau of Wittgenstein, Johann Konrad Dippel from Hesse, Johann Hummel from Heidelberg, Conrad Bröske from Offenbach, Daniel Schleyermacher from Gemünd in Hesse and Gerhard Tersteegen from Mülheim in the lower Rhine region.[23] The Elberfeld church in particular was impacted by Tersteegen, Hochmann and Dippel, their chiliastic and restorationist ideas, and attempts to create a new, perfected church in Elberfeld. There were frequent conflicts between church authorities and separatist groups. "All Classis and Synod minutes from this period contain bitter complaints about the spread of the Pietists and 'Schwärmer' (enthusiasts, fanatics), and the sectarian character of the itinerant, unauthorized Schwärmer in the churches."[24] Pastors and Consistories were encouraged to be watchful against such people and their false teaching. This background of suspicion explains the anxiety that the Elberfeld Classis expressed over the candidacy of Bröske as an "outsider."

In March 1705 Bröske published a list of the names of nine pastors "who have not conducted themselves towards me in a brotherly fashion."[25] The list included: Johannes Grüter, pastor in Elberfeld and Inspector of the Classis; Johannes Sethman, Assessor (Assistant) of the Classis; Conrad Gülcher, secretary of the Classis; Rütgerus Henckel, minister in Düsseldorf; Thomas Kolhagius, minister in Gruten; J.H. Ovenius, minister in Cronenberg; Johann Halffman, minister in Sonborn; Friderich Johann Sethman, minister in Belbert; and Johann Caspar Kersten, minister in Gräffrath. These individuals represented Bröske's main opposition before, during and after his election as second preacher in Elberfeld.

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[23] Goebel, *Bd. III*, pp. 236, 451, and Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 179f. Goebel observed that "among the Evangelical-Lutherans in previous years many and various writings were exchanged on the matter of the thousand year kingdom, while this had not yet been necessary in the Reformed churches since this newly-conceived teaching had only just been put forward in recent days by Thomas Burnet, Beverley and similar chiliasts from whom Brüßke derived his views." (p. 454)

[24] Goebel, *Bd. III*, pp. 236f. The Elberfeld Classis affirmed and reaffirmed in 1711 that, "the presbyteries, after brotherly admonition, warning and discipline, should finally seek the help of the regional authority, so that the Schwärmer and such, who confess none of the three tolerated churches and religions in the Empire, may be driven out of the churches."

[25] Conrad Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede wider die von einigen zu der Elberfeldischen Classe gehörigen Herrn Prediger, ohne sein Verschulden hinter ihm her mit Unrecht ausgestreuete Schmachreden* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 12. März 1705), pp. 5f.

The Issues in the Controversy

On December 15, 1704 the Elberfeld Classis held an extraordinary meeting in Tönnesheide, where it examined four of Bröske's published works: *Wahre Christen-Tauffe* (True Christian Baptism), *Alte und Neue Religion* (Old and New Religion), *Das Gebeth des Herrn* (The Lord's Prayer), and *Schlüssel der Offenbahrung* (Key to the Book of Revelation). The Classis recommended that the Synod conduct a further investigation of Bröske's views, based on the fact that "so many foreign, dangerous and ill-considered statements and ways of speaking were found in Bröske's published writings."[26] It found forty-two specific passages in Bröske's works that illustrated these concerns.

The Classis identified three key theological issues: Bröske's views on the sacraments, his views on the outward ministry of the Church, and his teaching on the thousand year kingdom of Christ. The Classis cited Bröske's statement in *Wahre Christen-Tauffe*, that the sacraments have been "ordered and established by the Lord Christ more as a service to the weak than to the strong." "Those well instructed in the secrets of true godliness and whose hearts are truly cleansed by the blood and Spirit of Christ and have been truly nourished with the true bread of heaven, could well dispense with all these elements, such as a word outwardly seen and heard and an outward bath of water and the bodily eating and drinking of bread and wine."[27] These statements were taken as evidence that Bröske's thinking on the sacraments was well outside of traditional Reformed belief.

Also of concern was Bröske's suggestion that the outward ministry of the church—matters relating to a prescribed place and order of worship, including singing, reading, praying, preaching, listening—was a middle thing (*ein Mittel-Ding*). It mattered little to Bröske whether Christian worship took place privately in homes or in public, so long as the practice was reasonable and edifying.[28] The Classis also cited Bröske's teaching regarding the earthly thousand year kingdom of Christ, and his explanation of Revelation 20:7–11:

> Christ rules splendidly along with the resurrected saints in heaven in the clouds, freed from the vanity of the world, and with their fellow saints

[26] Bröske, "Anhang," *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, p. 37.
[27] Ibid., p. 19.
[28] Ibid., p. 34. These views were found in Bröske's tract, *Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1701).

> on the new earth. Then the dragon, the old serpent which is the devil, sits for a long time shut up in the abyss along with his angels, and the godless stand on the pillory, so to speak, in the four corners of the earth during this period of time. They must see, to their great torment and shame, how those whom they previously hated, tortured, persecuted and killed, now rule and are comforted. This represents the two-fold condition in this time of judgment.[29]

Bröske interpreted the millennium as the time when Christ would rule and exercize judgment on the world (II Timothy 4:1).[30] Although the world was now in a condition of vanity, on the day of judgment it would be liberated. When Christ's judgment was complete, all creation would be transformed into the blessed eternal state.

The theological controversy culminated in March 1706 with publication of the *Wagschale* by the Classis, followed by Bröske's response. The Classis had consulted with theologians in Duisburg and in Leyden, while the church in Elberfeld consulted with theologians in Frankfurt/Oder. By this time the lines had been drawn, sides taken, and the power struggle engaged. Reaching agreement was now virtually impossible.

Bröske insisted that nothing in his writings in any way contradicted the Reformed confessions.

> I must insist before one and all that in the insinuating passages not the slightest thing can be found to go against God's Word or the confessional books of the Reformed Churches which are derived from it.[31]

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[29] Bröske, "Anhang," *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, p. 36. "Indem Christus mit denen aufferstandenen Heiligen in dem von der Eitelkeit befreyeten Lufft-Himmel in den Wolcken und denen verwandelten Heiligen auff der neuen Paradisischen Erden prächtig herrschet so sitzet der Drache die alte Schlange welcher ist der Teuffel so lange im Abgrunde verschlossen mit seinen Engeln und die Gottlosen stehen in den vier Ecken der Erden die Zeit über so zu sagen am Pranger und müssen zu ihrer grossen Pein und Schmach sehen wie die welche sie ehemals gehasset beleydiget verfolget und getödtet nun herrschen und getröstet werden und das ist dieser beyden Theile Zustand in diesem Gerichte." The passage is taken from Bröske's *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis, Sampt Einer Taffel und Kupffer, Worinnen die gantze Offenbahrung in die richtigste und deutlichste Ordnung gestellet worden, Durch Conrad Brößken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Offenbach am Mayn: Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy, 1703).

[30] Bröske, "Anhang," *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, pp. 26f.

[31] Ibid., p. 18. "Ich bin erbietig vor allen und gegen alle zu behaupten daß in denen angezogenen Sätzen nicht das geringste zu finden ist das mit Gottes Worte und denen darauß hergenommenen Symbolischen Büchern der nach dem Evangelio Christi Reformirten Kirchen streite."

This argument is reminiscent of earlier arguments by Spener and Petersen.[32] Bröske believed that the theological issues were a smokescreen for envy, hatred and personal antagonism. He noted that "impartial observers" were amazed at how little substance there was to the Classis' accusations against him. There were many, both educated and uneducated, who had entrusted their children to him for catechetical instruction and who spoke well of him. How strange that those who scarcely knew him should so readily condemn him without consulting with those who did.[33]

A key issue in the controversy had to do with proper procedure for deciding the question of Bröske's candidacy and qualifications. The *Bern Synod* of 1532 was the fundamental reference and authority in the Reformed tradition on matters relating to pastoral office.

> "The office of pastor requires two things: edifying teaching and an improving, honourable life" (*ein besserliches, ehrbares Leben*). The [candidate's] doctrine must be distinctly christocentric and Biblical.[34]

Bröske himself was evidently aware of the requirements laid down by the *Bern Synod*, and of the perspective of the Classis on what constituted proper procedure.

> The Classis hoped that I would hold off my decision on the call until it was properly informed concerning my doctrine and were assured by sufficient testimonials, as well as by my own writings and explanation of my right-mindedness in doctrine and faith. They were bound by their church order to pursue such an investigation. Only then could a proper and customary certificate be sent to me with the approval of the Synod of Berg as well as of the Elberfeld Classis.[35]

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[32] Both Spener and Petersen were at pains to prove that their chiliastic teaching was not in violation of the *Augsburg Confession.* Petersen wrote a work arguing that the idea of Christ's thousand year reign "does not go against the seventeenth article of the *Augsburg Confession*." Johann Wilhelm Petersen, *Öffentliche Bezeugung für der gantzen Evangelischen Kirchen: Das das Reich Jesu Christi, Welches ich Johann Wilhelm Petersen, der H. Schrifft Doctor, Aus Apoc. am XX. behaupte, Weder mit den alten ketzerischen Irrthümern des Cerinthi noch mit den Jüdischen Fabeln einige Gemeinschafft habe; Imgleichen Daß dasselbige nicht gegen den 17. Artickel der Augspurgischen Confession lauffe* (Magdeburg: 1695) [Ts 66 (16)]; Philipp Jacob Spener, *Auffrichtige übereinstimmung mit der augsp. confession… samt eine Anhang gegen Herrn D. Johann Benedict Carpzovium und Herrn D. Johann Friedrich Mayern* (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1695). [HAB: Tf 108 8vo] und [K 393 4to Helmst. (4)]

[33] Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, pp. 14f.

[34] "Evangelische Pfarrer," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Bd. XXVI* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996).

[35] Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, p. 10. "Sie hoffeten ich würde mit der resolution der verhofften folge auff diesen Beruff so lange einhalten biß sich Classis meiner Lehre

The Classis believed that it played the decisive role in deciding whether a candidate's teaching and life were edifying and honourable. The members of the Classis were disturbed, therefore, when "proper procedure" was not followed in clearing Bröske's candidacy with them. The Classis was especially concerned since Bröske had come from outside the Elberfeld jurisdiction. Bröske was "an outsider" (*fremder Prediger*).[36] It is significant that the individual who won the next election for second preacher was Bernhard Meyer (1657–1730) from Urdenbach,[37] a parish within the Synod of Berg, only about twenty-five kilometres from the community of Elberfeld.

Bröske and the church Consistory were convinced that the Classis was not really concerned about clearing the way for his coming, but rather was doing everything possible to hinder it.

> These gentlemen have sufficiently shown by their various actions that it was not their intention to pave the way for my coming, but rather to hinder it. They were not seeking to deliver me from malicious gossip, but to make me more and more odious among the residents of the region, and especially among members of the Christian Reformed Church in Elberfeld.[38]

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halber recht erkundiget und so wol auß gnugsamen Zeugnüssen als meinen Schrifften und eigener Erklärung meiner rechtsinnigkeit in Lehr und Glauben versichert wäre, zu welcher untersuchung sie durch ihre Kirchen-Ordnung angehalten würden; Und mir dann hernach so wohl mit des Bergischen Synodi als der Elberfeldischen Classen einwilligung ein ordentlicher und in ihrem Lande bräuchlicher Beruff-Schein zugesandt werden könte."

[36] Goebel, *Bd. III*, p. 453. Luise Schorn-Schütte observed that "after the consolidation of confessional boundaries the clergy were recruited increasingly from within the territories themselves. . . . the result of a system of patronage . . . which made the personal ties of clientage to noble, urban or parish patrons the fundamental condition for a position." See Schorn-Schütte, "Priest, Preacher, Pastor: Research on Clerical Office in Early Modern Europe," *Central European History* 33 #1 (2000), p. 14.

[37] Goebel, *Bd. III*, p. 455. Concerning Bernhard Meyer's life and career see: Johann Friedrich Gerhard Goeters, "Der reformierte Pietismus in Deutschland," in Martin Brecht, ed., *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 273, 277; and Hermann Klugkist Hesse, "Orthodoxie und Pietismus bei Bernhard Meyer, Prediger in Urdenbach, Mülheim a.d. Ruhr, Duisburg und Elberfeld (1657–1730)," *MRKG* 25 (1931), pp. 144–158.

[38] Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, p. 10. "Aber es haben diese Herren mit ihren übrigen verrichtungen gnugsam gewiesen daß sie nicht im sinne gehabt meine hinkunfft zu befördern sondern vielmehr zu verhindern; Mich nit durch gebührende wege von falschen nachreden zu befreyen sondern mehr und mehr bey den Einwohnern des Landes und insbesondere der Christl. Reformirten Gemeinde zu Elberfeld stinckend zu machen."

Bröske and the church lost confidence that the Classis would judge fairly in assessing Bröske's fitness as a candidate.

These tensions resulted in full-blown antagonism and power-play. Both parties appealed to the wider Christian public to judge which side had truth and Scripture on its side. The arguments on both sides went as follows: "Any impartial Christian reader can easily recognize" or "let everyone judge according to God's word how far Bröske's writings can hold their own with the Orthodox and right-minded teaching of the Reformed churches."[39] The conflict often had as much to do with complaints concerning the opponent's manner, tone and motive of speaking as with theological content. The polemical writings on both sides confirm this.

The Classis concluded the *Wagschale* by observing:

> If only Bröske would choose the truth and not grieve for his own respect and honour… Bröske would not be the first court preacher who had spoken according to his own inclination and wisdom and upon later instruction had retracted his teaching…[40]

St. Augustine, after all, had written his "retractions." Bröske should swallow his pride and do the same. Bröske, for his part, found it unjust and arbitrary that his interpretation of Revelation and appeals to authorities were questioned when others were accepted.

> The freedom which another preacher takes to follow the explanation of Cocceius concerning the thousand year kingdom, the same freedom have I exercized to follow the explanation of the first apostolic Christians, who personally heard the apostle for themselves… It is an aggravating thing that I for my part should not have the same freedom as others to choose the meaning most agreeable with the holy scriptures.[41]

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[39] Die Elberfeldische Classis, *Waagschale worinnen das neu-ersonnene tausendjährige Lust-Himmlisch-Paradiesische Gerichts-Reich Herren Conraden Bröβkens und dessen hierüber geführte unschrifftmässige Lehrsätze und andere Rede-Arten nach dem Gewicht des Heiligthums gerechtsam abgewogen und zu leicht befunden worden durch Evangelisch-Reformirte Prediger der Elberfeldischen Klasse im Herzogthum Berg* (Duisburg am Rhein: Johannes Sas/der Königl. Universität Buchdrücker, March 1706), p. 440.

[40] Die Elberfelder Prediger, *Waagschale worinnen das neu-ersonnene tausendjährige Lust-Himmlisch-Paradiesische Gerichts-Reich Herren Conraden Bröβkens und dessen hierüber geführte unschrifftmässige Lehrsätze und andere Rede-Arten nach dem Gewicht des Heiligthums gerechtsam abgewogen und zu leicht befunden worden durch Evangelisch-Reformirte Prediger der Elberfeldischen Klasse im Herzogthum Berg* (Duisburg am Rhein: Johannes Sas/der Königl. Universität Buchdrücker, März 1706), p. 440.

[41] Bröske, *Rechtmäβige Schutz-Rede*, pp. 3f. "Die freyheit welche sich derselbige nahm etwan der erklärung des Sel. Herrn Cocceji über dieses tausend-jährige Reich

From Bröske's perspective, it was the Classis that should swallow its pride.

Conclusion

Bröske's dispute with the Elberfeld Classis is an apt illustration of how early modern theological differences could dissolve into personal jealousies and misrepresentation. Matters of power and control, prejudice and personal reputation, integrity and truth-telling, quickly became predominant. Both sides had good reason to accuse the other on these counts. The theological issues almost became secondary. Protestants generally, and Reformed churches in particular, faced a special problem: who should decide if someone's interpretation of scripture and the confessions was orthodox and whether the faith and life of a pastoral candidate should be deemed acceptable? In this situation differences over points of theology could easily become a pretext for assertions of power, control and personal prejudice. Of course, it served Bröske's interests to portray the controversy in these terms and to minimize the substantive theological concerns raised by the Classis.

This dispute reveals much about Bröske's temperament and personality. His concern for reputation and honour quickly rose to the surface, just as it had in the conflict with Dippel. The Classis observed how much he "grieves for his own respect and honour," and how difficult it was for him to swallow his pride. Bröske could be stubborn, tiresome and self-righteous.

The polemics with the Elberfeld Classis and with Dippel took their toll on Bröske. In 1705 he reflected on the opposition he had faced over the years. He recalled that the apostle, in writing to the Hebrews, had lamented the difficulty he had experienced in teaching them because of their laziness and lack of diligence in God's truth. For much of his career, Bröske had felt the same frustration.

> I considered what a shame it would be if I did not devote myself as much as possible to the study of God's word… Yet I found not the least pleasure

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vor andern nachzuhängen eben dieselbige habe ich auch der ersten Apostolischen Christen erklärung vor allen andern außzuwählen welche den Offenbahrungs-Apostel selbsten gehöret und von ihm eine bessere erklärung empfangen haben als sie hernach von andern welche dieser Apostolischen erklärung vergessen nicht konte gegeben werden."

> therein, and for a long time looked about to find truths in which my soul could rest… People cry "heresy" when they meet anything that they do not wish to teach or believe, and often cannot even understand.[42]

Bröske had faced relentless charges of teaching novelties in his eschatological writings and speculations. It is not surprising that after 1704 he was less and less inclined to venture into this minefield.

[42] Konrad Brößke, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Der Melchisedek schrifftmäßig beschrieben* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Bey Georg Heinrich Walthern, 1705).

CHAPTER TEN

THE LITERARY CAREER OF CONRAD BRÖSKE

Pietism as a Literary Culture

Protestantism began as a literary culture, spreading its message on the wings of the printed page.[1] A century and a half later Protestant laity were literate in greater numbers and their leadership ever more adept at using the medium of print, often in pursuit of intra-Protestant internecine polemics. The second half of the 1690s decade witnessed an explosion of heterodox Pietist literature, much of it focused upon the meaning of the *Apocalypse* and attempts at end-times calculations.[2] Hans-Jürgen Schrader spoke of "the flood of radical Pietist writing."[3] It is astonishing that this literature should appear at all since it so openly opposed "the binding norms of book censorship which governed the whole publishing enterprise at the time."[4] There is growing recognition that Pietist literature represents a significant stage of German poetry and prose. It prepared the way for freedom of the press in Germany. Despite its wide-reaching influence, this heterodox Pietist literature has

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[1] Steven Ozment observed: "Protestant authors produced perhaps as many as ten thousand different titles by 1550, so many that it has been said, 'no books, no Reformation.' Hundreds of the pamphlets that rained down on the laity in the first decades of the Reformation were intended to be read aloud and preached in public as well as pondered in private by readers. Most were short (less than twenty pages)…" Steven Ozment, *Protestants: The Birth of a Revolution* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), p. 46.

[2] "Das letzte Jahrzehnt des 17. Jahrhunderts in radikalpietistischen Kreisen [war] von einer apokalyptischen *fin-de-siecle*-Stimmung beherrscht…in der zweiten Hälfte der 1690er Jahre erschienen zahlreiche radikalpietistische Publikationen, sie sich mit der Deutung der Apokalypse und mit endzeitlichen Berechnungen beschäftigten." See Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Geschichte des Pietismus, Vol. 1*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 394, 397, 405f.

[3] Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus: Johann Henrich Reitz' "Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen" und ihr geschichtlicher Kontext* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), p. 11. He referred to the "almost unfathomably great quantity of writing…which radical Pietism brought forth." (p. 108). Equally astounding is the fact that the authors, publishers and promoters of this literature represented "an amazingly small circle comprised mainly of the propagators of a super-confessional-Philadelphian brand of Christianity." (p. 14)

[4] Ibid., p. 108.

been relatively unexplored in its quantity and character, as well as in the conditions of its illegal origin, spread and reception.[5]

Schrader has shed valuable light on the literary culture of the Pietists and the circumstances surrounding the writing, publishing and distribution of this literature. His study investigated how a publishing enterprise which specialized in the writings of born-again Pietists and Philadelphians could survive, and how it was able to distribute its publications so widely and effectively.[6] As an illuminating paradigm, Schrader focused on the various editions and publishers of Johann Henrich Reitz's famous collection of Pietist biographies, *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen (The History of the Reborn)* (1698–1748).[7] Schrader demonstrated how innovative means of distribution undermined the old system of censorship and in the process won implicit freedom of the press for the first time in the German empire.[8] Conrad Bröske was the key player in Offenbach's literary influence.[9]

Conrad Bröske's career fits comfortably within this Protestant literary culture. He played a strategic role in the earliest stage of the remarkable story of Philadelphian-inspired book production in Germany. Bröske offers a valuable touchstone for investigating this extensive literature and the circumstances of its publication.

Bröske's Context: Censorship and the Politics of Printing

There were well-established norms of censorship that governed the publishing enterprise in the German empire at this time. From the sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century a series of Imperial

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[5] Ibid., pp. 11, 108f. Pietist literature represents "a noteworthy stage of German literary witnesses, between the decline of the Baroque and the beginning of the Goethe period."

[6] Ibid., p. 609.

[7] Johann Henrich Reitz, *I. Theil der Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen* (Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1698). Parts I to III were published in Offenbach between 1698 and 1701. Parts II and III were both published in 1701. Parts IV and V appeared in Idstein in 1716 and 1717. Reitz's work grew through six revised editions under the editorship of Johann Samuel Carl and Johann Conrad Kanz to about 2,070 pages by the mid eighteenth century. See Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 13f., 145.

[8] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 609. The Offenbach press "made possible the continuous publication of heterodox and openly separatist writings, when such activity was not yet possible in other German states." Ibid., pp. 140.

[9] Ibid., p. 132. Schrader identified Bröske as "one of the most committed propagandists and most zealous organizers" of the German Philadelphian movement.

edicts aimed at protecting "the interests of the church, state and good morals." To that end, censors sought to impede the production and sale of all books which gave grounds for concern regarding their influence in these three areas. The duty of oversight fell to the landed nobility, the Imperial Book Commission, and the Fiscal Office of the empire.

> Local authorities had the obligation to examine, under the three headings, all writings published in their region, to forbid and prevent the printing and dealing of writings that were in violation, and to proceed with the appropriate penalty against the author, printer, publisher and book dealers. The Imperial Book Commission was responsible for making sure that the official censors were upholding the letter of the law… The Fiscal Office had the duty not only of proceeding against books, authors and printers who escaped the notice of local authorities and the Book Commission, but against the censors and authorities themselves.[10]

The censorship practices of territorial lords were often determined by their own political and theological interests.[11] Typically, the First Preacher would exercise the duty of book censor within his prince's territory under the lord's oversight.[12] The ability of the Imperial power to enforce censorship norms in non-Habsburg territories was often quite limited.

In the seventeenth century German works critical of the state church were typically published in neighbouring territories or border regions of the German Empire, such as in Denmark or Hamburg. The classic land of origin of German heterodox and mystical literature during the Baroque period and up to the early eighteenth century, was the Netherlands, especially the city of Amsterdam.[13] Within the German empire, heterodox Pietist book production took place in "back woods," tiny principalities. Three of these centres were Offenbach, Idstein and Berleburg. In all three cases the religious, political and economic conditions were favourable to this publishing work.[14] Offenbach, Idstein and Berleburg were all residence cities where the territorial Prince had established his court. In all three the court preachers and church administrators were Pietists. Offenbach and Berleburg were Reformed while Idstein was Lutheran.[15]

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[10] Ibid., p. 112.
[11] Ibid., p. 113.
[12] Ibid., p. 116.
[13] Ibid., p. 110.
[14] Ibid., p. 17.
[15] Ibid., p. 165.

Offenbach was the earliest setting for heterodox Pietist book production, specifically the press of the Huguenot Bonaventura de Launoy, printer to Count Johann Philipp II.[16] As court preacher and censor in Offenbach, Conrad Bröske played a key role in the fortunes of heterodox Pietist book-publishing. Some Pietists, such as Johann Wilhelm Petersen, may have had the same vision for facilitating publication of heterodox works, but had no printing press at hand. Other communities had the press, but no will to publish works of a heterodox Pietist persuasion. In Bröske's case, the will and the opportunity came together in an unique and historically significant way. He was able to combine the tolerant politics of a small German county and a sympathetic prince with the skills of a Huguenot printer on behalf of his Philadelphian vision.

Offenbach's publishing activity would be superseded in 1714 with the founding of the press in Idstein and the even more influential Berleburg press. There were thriving separatist communities in Berleburg, with easy relations between separatist groups and Reformed church authorities.[17] The court preacher, Ludwig Christoph Schefer, was "an even-handed but committed Pietist." He took part in separatist gatherings and undertakings and contributed to the Berleburg Bible. Schefer became suspect among the Orthodox because of his propensity for preaching chiliastic sermons.[18]

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[16] Ibid., p. 227. "…writings which departed from theological norms…and which previously would have appeared anonymously or pseudonymously…here for the most part were brought onto the book market in a completely open way, with the imprint of the court printer of the territorial lord." cf. p. 131.

[17] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 181. Schrader noted: "A complaint to the Imperial Court in 1710 mentioned over 300 tolerated Separatists in Schwarzenau alone, the Wittgenstein colony of exiles. According to the same source, in Berleburg there were no less, indeed they constituted an ever increasing proportion of the total residents." See also Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 172f.

[18] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 182. Ludwig Christoph Schefer served as court preacher, church inspector and first preacher in Berleburg from 1700 until his death in 1731. Schefer joined Heinrich Horch in producing the Marburg Bible as well as working on the Berleburg Bible. His overall literary contribution, however, did not match Bröske's.

The Quantity of Bröske's Writing

Bröske's literary productivity is a key indicator of his significance for Pietist publishing.[19] In 1710, at the invitation of Johann Christoff Kalckhoff (1684–1752), a chancery lawyer in Rotenburg, Hesse, Bröske composed a brief autobiography and a list of his writings.[20] Kalckhoff planned to write a history of leading scholars and authors in Hesse,[21] a plan Bröske praised and in which he felt honoured to be included.[22]

Bröske listed his works in five categories: *First*, he included his five disputations at Philipps University in Marburg, noting that at least three "are still in print."[23] *Second*, he listed his most important published works, comprising seventeen titles. *Third*, there followed a series of eight titles that Bröske described as "andere viele Scharteken…" (many other worthless productions). The reason for their lowly status is suggested in the words following the list: "these are not to be taken into consideration, of which some are directed against the well-known Dippel, who

[19] Ibid., pp. 131f. "Conrad Bröske…einer ihrer engagiertesten Propagatoren und eifrigsten Organisatoren…Er hat sich auch mit einer großen Zahl eigener—zumeist ebenfalls bei Launoy publizierter—Schriften tatkräftig für deren Ideen, für spiritualistische und chiliastische Lehren eingesetzt."

[20] Conrad Bröske "Brief [letter], 10th of April, 1710" Ms Hass 103, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel. This document is included in Appendix One in this book. I am indebted to Prof. Hans Schneider in Marburg for his assistance in obtaining a microfilm copy of Bröske's hand-written submission to Kalckhoff. This source will inform the discussion below. See also Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte, Seit der Reformation bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten, Volume 1* (Cassel: Cramer, 1781), pp. 51–56, 521.

[21] Johann Christoff Kalckhoff's plan never came to fruition. But in 1781 Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, building upon Kalckhoff's work, published the first volume of his multi-volume, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte*. On Kalckhoff's life and career see Strieder, *Vol. 1*, pp. 3–10 and vol. 7, pp. 7–15. The Bröske entry and bibliography in Strieder rely upon Bröske's own handwritten autobiography and bibliography. Strieder, however, changed the order of Bröske's publications to a chronological one, and made some mistakes in the process.

[22] "Your noble, devoted efforts in behalf of [Hesse] are greatly to be honoured. If I am indeed among the least in Hesse who bear the name of scholar, I have nevertheless always sought to work in such a way that my land at least might have no shame in me. Bröske obviously felt honoured to be included in Kalckhoff's history. Bröske 'Brief,' 10th of April, 1710."

[23] The last disputation, in physics, was for his Master's degree under Dr. Samuel Andreae: Conrad Bröske, *De corposis et spatii Identitate unter Herrn Dr. Samuele Andreae*. See Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte, Seit der Reformation bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten*, *Volume 1*, p. 52.

published his works under the name Democritus Christianus."[24] Bröske viewed these works as occasional pieces, so focused on particular circumstances or polemics that they held little value for a wider audience.[25] *Fourth*, he listed one title as an after-thought. *Finally*, Bröske added three titles that were "in manuscript almost ready for the press" at the time of writing and published later. In all, the list amounts to thirty-four titles, twenty-nine if one leaves out the five disputations.

In addition there are nine titles not included in Bröske's list, four of them works of translation.[26] Bröske also published at least one funeral sermon.[27] Two editions of his Gospel sermons appeared in print: one in 1710 and another posthumously in 1716.[28] In all, forty-one titles can be attributed to Bröske. Of seventy-six works published by the Offenbach press between 1697 and 1704, over one quarter of them were authored by Bröske.[29]

Themes and Genres in Bröske's Writings

Bröske's list is unusual in that the titles appear without regard for chronological order. The first title was published in 1709, the second in 1692, the third in 1703. An obvious question is, why the chronological *disorder*? What principle of ordering did Bröske have in mind? The fact that the category of *Scharteken*, or worthless books, comes near the end suggests that he listed the works according to his estimation of their significance, based either upon literary or theological criteria or both.

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[24] Bröske "Brief," ms. pg. 11.

[25] Bröske "Brief," ms. pg. 10.

[26] See Appendix Four.

[27] *Der Kinder Gottes Seligster Schlaff . . . aus Veranlassung des im Jahr Christi 1707 zwischen dem 8ten und 9ten Tag Augusti Nachts um 12. Uhre so unvermutheten als höchst-seligen Einschlaffens und Absterbens der weyland Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen Frauen Charlotten Amalien . . . mundlich vorgetragen endlich zum Druck herausgegeben durch Conrad Brösken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Buchdruckern, 1708).

[28] Konrad Bröske, *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Johann Maximilian von Sand, 1716). A photocopy of these sermons was obtained by the present author through the kindness of the late Pfarrer Albert Kratz of Offenbach. He obtained the copy from the Library of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Church in Hesse and Nassau in Herborn.

[29] For the titles of Bröske works published in Offenbach, see Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 143f., 154, 438 n. 80.

A perusal of the top ten works in the list gives some idea of the themes and issues he considered important.[30]

Appearing first in Bröske's list is his 1709 commentary on the *Heidelberg Catechism*. He gave priority of place to his elucidation of this classic statement of the Reformed faith. Of the top ten titles listed, five deal with the theme of Reformed doctrine; in his total corpus, ten works do so. In thinking about his literary legacy, Bröske wanted to emphasize his loyalty to the Reformed standards of belief. This is not surprising considering the attacks brought against him and his Reformed credentials by the Orthodox Reformed Preachers in Elberfeld just a few years before.

A second prominent theme is eschatology. Five out of the ten titles are devoted to it; in his total corpus, twelve of Bröske's works explicitly treat eschatological issues, including his longest writing, *Die Acht Unterredungen* (The Eight Dialogues).[31] Prior to 1700 all but two of Bröske's writings discussed issues of chiliasm and eschatology; after 1700 only two did.[32] In the latter half of the 1690s Bröske was a man obsessed with the soon-coming Apocalypse. He was convinced that he possessed the key to Biblical prophecy. The words *Schlüssel* (Key), *Muster* (Pattern), *Taffel* (Chart, Diagram), and *Zeit-Register* (Time-line) appear and reappear in succeeding titles of his works. In *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ* (The Antichrist Revealed), Bröske discussed "some visions in Daniel and the Revelation" on the basis of "a key I have in mind for [explaining] John's Revelation." In his *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johanis* (Key to the Revelation of John), he promised to include "a table and engraving in which the whole Revelation has been set forth in the most accurate and clear order."[33]

On the question of genre, Bröske was a versatile author, with four genres predominating. Several of his publications originated in oral form as public lectures. Examples include *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ*,

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[30] To view the titles of his "top ten" works, in the order in which he listed them, see Appendix One.

[31] Of Bröske's eschatological writings, seven were published in Offenbach, including *Die Acht Unterredungen*; three were published in Hanau; three were published in Frankfurt. See Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 158.

[32] Brössken, *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis*, and *Wagschale des tausendjährigen Reiches* (Anno 1704).

[33] *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis, Sampt Einer Taffel und Kupffer, Worinnen die gantze Offenbahrung in die richtigste und deutlichste Ordnung gestellet worden, Durch Conrad Brößken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Offenbach am Mayn: Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy, 1703).

based on lectures Bröske gave in Holland: "First presented in public orally in a distinguished city in Holland, and now brought to press by someone who hates the beast and confesses Christ, 1692."[34] Likewise, *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter und Zween Oel-Bäume* (Zechariah's Golden Lampstand and the two Olive Trees) was earlier presented publicly on the 27th of December 1695 in the German Reformed Church in Hanau. Bröske observed that "without the request of supporters and friends [this book] would not have been presented any further than by oral presentation."[35] A third example is the *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis*. In the foreword Bröske indicated that he was publishing his views on *The Apocalypse* "to give my listeners the opportunity to go over again through reading what they will have already heard."[36] Finally, *Der Melschisedek Schrifftmässig beschrieben* (Melchisedek described according to Scripture) grew out of an earlier talk on Hebrews chapter 7 in his congregation in Offenbach.[37] These works began as public presentations that were later published in response to popular demand.[38]

A second genre is Biblical commentary and exposition. Besides his two collections of sermons, several of Bröske's works were devoted to explaining the prophets, especially Ezekiel, Daniel and Zachariah, and interpreting Matthew 8 and the book of Revelation. Bröske provided translations of two lengthy commentaries on biblical books: Peter van Hoeke's commentary on the epistle to the Hebrews, and Marcus van Peene's massive commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans. Bröske also

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[34] Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte, Volume 1*, p. 52: "Ehemals öffentlich und mündlich in einer vornehmen holländischen Stadt vorgestellet, und nun zum Druck beschrieben von einem, welcher das Thier hasset und Christum Bekennet. 1692."

[35] Conrad Bröske, *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter und Zween Oel-Bäume. Das ist Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Erklärung des 4ten Kapittels der Weissagungen Obgedachten Profetens* (Hanau: Johann Matthias Stann, 1696), p. 3.

[36] Bröske, "Geliebter Leser," *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannes*.

[37] Konrad Brößke, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Der Melchisedek schrifftmäßig beschrieben* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Bey Georg Heinrich Walthern, 1705).

[38] Another example of a publication that began as a sermon on a non-eschatological theme is the following: Conrad Bröske, *Schrift- und Naturmäßige Gedanken von der Ehe zwischen Bluts-Freunden, dabey insonderheit die Frage: Ob ein Mann seines Bruders oder Schwester Tochter heurathen dürffen. Weitläufftig betrachtet, und deren Bejahung oder Affirmative nicht allein Von Conrad Brößke Hochgräfl. Ysenburgischen Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, In einer allda Vor der gantzen Volck-reichen Gemeinde an dem VIII. Sonntag nach Trinitatis 1708. gehaltenen und auff nachstehenden Blättern Gedruckten Predigt, Sondern auch von Evangelischen und den Allwissenden Gott und ihr Christliches Gewissen für Augen habenden Jurisconsultis Auß Göttlichen und Natürlichen Rechten gründlich bestättiget wird* (Offenbach: Bonavent. de Launoy, 1709). [24: Kirchen-R. 4to Kaps. 70] [300: 124074–B]

wrote two works devoted to explaining the general principles of Biblical interpretation.[39] A third genre is the fictional dialogue, represented in his ambitious eight part *Unterredungen* (Dialogues). As noted, Bröske consigned the work to "worthless" status in his 1710 list, possibly out of disappointment with its literary quality.

The fourth and most prominent genre is polemical writing, adding up to sixteen works in all.[40] From 1695 to 1706 Bröske found himself under continual pressure to respond to charges of theological novelty: "These people cry 'heresy' when they meet anything that they do not wish to teach or believe, and often cannot even understand."[41] In the years leading up to 1700 and immediately after, Bröske served as the skilled polemicist that the Philadelphian cause needed. As a court preacher who affirmed the Reformed doctrine in the *Heidelberg Catechism*, he represented the kind of voice that could win a wide hearing for Philadelphian Pietist eschatology. These polemics took their toll on Bröske. In 1705 he reflected that he had "for a long time looked about to find truths in which my soul could rest."[42]

The Readership, Dissemination and Influence of Bröske's Writings

Bröske made brief allusions to his readership in several of his polemical writings. In his dispute with Dippel, Bröske referred to "many hundreds" who eagerly read their *Streitschriften* or argumentative tracts.[43] Dippel

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[39] Conrad Bröske, *Unmasgeblicher Vorschlag, wie das ganze geoffenbarte Wort Gottes, welches in den Schriften A. u. N.T. enthalten ist, klar möge ausgelegt werden, so daß es jedermann, auch der allergeringste, meistens verstehen könne* (no date), and Conrad Bröske, *Zweyfache Probe, wie man das ganze heil. Wort Gottes dermassen erklären und durch Zusammenmenbringung aller von einerley Sachen handblender Schrift-Oerter, so deutlich machen könne, daß es ein jeder, der nur ein wenig Fleiß anwenden will, nicht allein meistens verstehen, sondern auch andern auslegen und erklären kann* (no date).

[40] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, p. 227. "In der frühen, aber relativ kurzen Phase philadelphischer Buchproduktion in Offenbach hatten ja polemisch-apologetische Traktate gegenüber der Andachtsliteratur im Vordergrund gestanden…"

[41] Konrad Brößke, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Der Melchisedek schrifftmäßig beschrieben*.

[42] Ibid.

[43] "…nun viele hunderte auff die Gedancken gebracht werden und des Heracliti seine Antworten künfftig hin ungezweifelt vor meine Sachen halten würden wann ich nicht durch eine eben so freymüthige und offentliche Bezeugung gedachtes Vorurtheil von mir abwendete…Schließlich muß ich den Herrn berichten daß seit der Zeit der Heraclitus im Drucke ist viele von denen welche vor fromm wollen gehalten seyn durch allerhand listige Fragen bald bey diesem bald bey jenem sich erkundiget ob ich der Author seye…" Conrad Bröske, *Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus In Einem*

alluded to the fact that their feud took place before a watching world: "Conrad Bröske, Court Preacher in Offenbach, doubtless knows only too well how we have quarreled in writing…to the great scandal of many pious people and to the enjoyment of the other sort of people…"[44] During Bröske's feud with the Reformed clergy in Elberfeld, his opponents expressed their amazement that Bröske "has not blushed to go publicly into print before the whole world against the preachers of the Elberfeld Classis with his so-called *Schutz-Rede* (Words of Defence), which cannot be seen by honourable readers as anything but bitter *Schmach-Rede* (Words of Insult)."[45] These comments reveal the ready audience that followed Protestant theological polemics during the hey day of Orthodoxy. Pietists shared in this argumentative culture; they made use of Orthodox weapons in an anti-Orthodox cause.[46]

In his reflections on St. John's Revelation, Bröske expressed confidence that his published views would "give to my listeners the opportunity to go over again through reading what they will have already heard, and serve those others far afield who will not be able to hear my explanations, yet would gladly know them."[47] Bröske had an eager audience for works on such themes, not only within his own congregation but "far afield" as well. A Reformed congregation as far away as Elberfeld, near Düsseldorf, called Bröske to be their pastor. The congregation knew of Bröske's reputation and many had read his works.

Schreiben an Ihn Von einem Der Wahrheit und Frieden liebet (Offenbach: Bonvaventura de Launoy, 1700), pp. 3, 15.

[44] "Ihme [Bröske] wird ohne Zweiffel mehr also zu viel bewußt seyn wie zum grossen Ärgerniß vieler Frommen, und zur Freude der Widrig-gesinnten, zwischen Herrn Conrad Brüßken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, und mir über eine Person sey schrifftlich controvertirt (gestritten) worden…" Johann Konrad Dippel, *Nochmalige und letzte Erinnerung an den so ihm als Gott wohl bekannten so genannten Heraclitum Philadelphum* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700) in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), p. 950.

[45] Die Elberfelder Predigern, *Gerechtsame, Abgenöthigte voraußlauffende Ablehnung der Evangelisch-Reformirten Prediger Elberfeldischer Class, im Herzogthum Berge Gegen die am 12. Martii 1705 von Hn. Conrad Brößken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn Außgegebene so genante Schutz-Rede* (1705), p. 3. "sich nicht erröthet hat mit einer so genanten *Schutz-Rede* die aber von allen Ehr-liebenden Lesern nicht anders als eine bittere Schmach-Rede angesehen werden kan…wider die Prediger der Elberfeldischen Class, in offentlichem Druck vor aller Welt hervor zu tretten."

[46] See Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung. Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997). Gierl shows that Spener's Pietism can be seen as a program "to reform theological controversy." Spener did not reject religious controversy but sought to pursue religious controversy "by other means." (p. 280)

[47] Bröske, "Geliebter Leser," *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannes*.

There are allusions to Bröske in other writings. The anonymous author of a 1698 work, *Freundliches Erinnern* (A Friendly Recollection), identified himself simply as a "true Lutheran" and "friend of Beverley." He had read Bröske's translation of Thomas Beverley's *Zeit-Register* and referred to the translator as "the Ysenburg and Büdingen Court Preacher Mr. Bröske, one very well-practised in the Holy Scriptures."[48] Bröske received his share of critical attention as well. In his 1709 *Compendium errorum pietisticorum* (Compendium of Errors of the Pietists), Georg Friederic Niehenck documented Pietist errors from their own literature of the previous twenty years.[49] Niehenck made references to Philadelphian chiliasts such the Petersens, Heinrich Horch, Johann Henrich Reitz and Bröske.[50]

Gottfried Arnold possessed at least four of Bröske's works in his personal library. He had Bröske's *Ein Schlüssel über Herrn Beverleys Zeit-Register* (Key to Beverley's Time-line), and his *Erklärung des Heidelbergischen Catechismi* (Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism).[51] He also owned Bröske's German translations of Beverley's *Time-line* (*Zeit-Register*) and of Hornbeck's *The Holy Life of the first Christians…* (*Heil. Leben der ersten*

[48] "…und in dem Anhang gesagten Büchleins welche von dem in der H. Schrifft sehr wohl-geübtet Ysenburg-und Büdingischen Hof-Prediger Hn. Brüßken hinzugesetzet…" See *Freundliches Erinnern wegen verübter Lästerung, An einen Vornehmen Prediger und Professor auff einer berühmten Hohen Schul, Wie auch Christliches Ansuchen Das Er wegen Herrn Beverley und der tausend Apocalyptischen Jahren (deren Anfang Herr Beverley nicht in das 1697ste sondern in das 1772ste Jahr setzet, und also die darzwischen stehende 75. Jahre nur vor eine Vorbereitung hält, die allgemach anheben muß, und anfangs nicht von jedermen, insonderheit denen die irdisch-gesinnet seyn, so leicht kan wahrgenommen werden) eines bessern sich bereden lassen, auch offentlich und Christlich sich erklären… Gestellet und in Liebe freundlich erfordert Von einem Zwar Evangelisch-Lutherischen, Doch Beverleyischen Freunde* (1698), p. 8. [Staatsarchiv Darmstadt unter Beverley: Bibliothek Gimderode].

[49] Georg Friederic Niehenck, *Compendium errorum pietisticorum* (Leipzig and Rostock, 1709, 1710). 182pgs [HAB Tq 879]. Niehenck was Pastor primarius in Gothenburg and Assessor in the imperial consistory.

[50] In both cases Bröske's *von der wahren Christen Tauffe* (1698) was cited to illustrate erroneous Pietist thinking on the sacraments. Bröske, for example, taught that Baptism should not be called a sacrament, and said that Baptism was not a means of grace nor a means of creating faith. cf. Niehenck, *Compendium errorum pietisticorum*, pp. 138, 144.

[51] This title, published in Offenbach in 1698, probably refers to Conrad Bröske, *Der Heydelbergische Catechismus samt einer Zergliederung von Conrad Bröße, Hoffpredigern zu Offenbach: wodurch diese sonst starcke Speise den Schwachen zur Milch gemacht werden* (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1698/Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1698). See Dietrich Blaufuß and Friedrich Niewöhner, ed., *Gottfried Arnold, Vorträge gehalten in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), p. 406. Arnold also owned an anonymous work that is almost certainly by Bröske: Christian von Balhorn, *Von der Zeit Christi und der Kirchen* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700).

Christen).[52] The library of Friedrich Adolf Lampe in Bremen contained works by Conrad Bröske, Poiret, Reitz and Henrich Horch.[53] The library of the Prince of East Friesland,[54] Prince Carl Edzard (d. 26 May 1744), included not only Lutheran works by Spener and Francke, but also two works by Bröske: his translation of Beverley's *Time-line* (*Zeit-Register*) and *Die Grosse Welt-Woche* (The Great World Week).[55]

The Offenbach court preacher's writings found their way to the northern and western regions of the German empire. The fact that they turn up in these various libraries indicates Bröske's influence in promoting Philadelphian expectations.[56]

Bröske's Roles as Editor and Translator, Book Promoter and Censor

The final piece of the puzzle in assessing Conrad Bröske's significance in the early days of Pietist publishing lies in his work as translator, editor and censor in promoting the writings of fellow Pietists. During two fund-raising visits to England in 1690 and 1693, Bröske became acquainted with Thomas Beverley and the Philadelphian movement under Jane Leade. He brought some of their literature back with him and translated it into German. It was these publications that helped to launch the Offenbach publishing business and press.[57] In 1695 Bröske

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[52] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 270f., 492 n. 91.

[53] Ibid., p. 271.

[54] The Auktionskatalog der "Bibliotheca Principalis" is located in the St.UB Göttingen: 8vo Hist.lit.libr. XII, 4618. Ibid., pp. 272, 494 n. 99.

[55] Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 272f., 495 n. 104. "One especially notices the significant number of publications from the small workshop of Bonaventura de Launoy in Offenbach," including Conrad Bröske's *Übersetzung von Beverleys Zeitregister* (1695). The Prince also owned another by Bröske published in Hanau, *Die Grosse Welt-Woche* (Hanau: 1696).

[56] Schrader observed that personal libraries, such as Gottfried Arnold's, "indicate how well the contact system of book distribution must have operated among the radical Pietists, and how little censorship really was in place to limit the spread of theoretically forbidden books once they were printed…or to act against their further sale in public auctions." See Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 270f., 492 n. 91.

[57] See the discussion in chapter six of Bröske's meeting with Thomas Beverley in 1693. Bröske returned to Offenbach with literature that he then translated and that de Launoy printed: "Er hatte durch zwei Kollektenreisen nach England und Holland selbst die Mittel herbeigeschafft. Dabei scheint er die chiliastisch-spekulative Literatur mitgebracht zu haben, die für die nahe Jahrhundertwende den Anbruch des endzeitlichen herrlichen Christus-Reichs prognostizierte und deren Übersetzung die Offenbacher Bücherproduktion eröffnete." Ibid., p. 134.

put out a German translation of Thomas Beverley's apocalyptic-chiliastic *Time-line* (*Zeit-Register*). In the foreword, Bröske explained his reasons for translating and promoting Beverley's 224 page work:

> With the help of the most high God…he [Beverley] speaks and writes to show what Israel must do. He boasts of no extraordinary revelation himself, neither by dreams nor visions nor any other inspiration, but has earnestly searched through the revealed word of holy scripture…He has at various times given to the Imperial Majesty and to the whole Parliament his printed work in which he spoke thoughtfully in advance to them, according to the signs of the times which he found recorded in God's Word, of future events both within and outside of the kingdom, among which were the glorious victory of the King in Ireland, the expulsion of the French from England, the calling back of the Waldensians to their homeland under religious freedom, which all shortly after were fulfilled by the letter. Especially this man has explained with careful reckoning the time-line or length of time which the Spirit of God himself has recorded, and all the connections from the beginning to the end [of the world], the like of which has never before been seen in Christendom in the judgement of many. This time-line is partly historical, partly prophetical: historical in what has already been fulfilled, prophetical in what stands yet to be fulfilled.[58]

Bröske felt duty-bound to translate such works and present them to a German audience. Beverley's work attracted sufficient attention that Bröske put out a second edition in 1697.

Besides the *Zeit-Register*, Bröske translated at least five other works into German.[59] He translated a 1692 Latin commentary on the epistle

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[58] Conrad Bröske, "Vorrede an den Leser," *Herrn Thomas Beverleys, Eines vortrefflichen Englischen Gottes Gelehrten…eines rechten Wunder-Mannes Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, ins Hochteutsche-gebracht Durch Konrad Brüßken* (Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1695).

[59] *Thomas Beverleys ins Hochteutsche übers. Memorial über das heran-nahende Königreich unsers Herrn Jesus Christus. Welches 1690…in Engelland übergeben* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1695); Conrad Bröske, *Ein Schlüssel über Herrn Beverleys, eines Englischen Gottes-Lehrers und Predigers in London, Zeit-Register, worinnen alle seine bisher dunkel gebliebene Sätze und Meinungen auf vieler Verlangen und Begehren erläutert und klar in ihrer Ordnunge vom Anfange bis zum Ende vorgestellt werden…Auff Begehren auffgesetzt Von dem Übersetzer des Zeit-Registers* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1697); Leiden Pastor Marcus van Peene's *Erklärung des Brieffs Pauli an die Römer: Welche in zwantzig Jahren Zeit verfasset. Worinnen die in diesem Brieffe enthaltene Wahrheiten dermassen deutlich ausgeleget und in ihrer Verknüpffung gezeiget werden, Daß Ein jeder nicht alleine die darinnen enthaltene Glaubens- und Lebens-Regeln…sehen kan, Die Nunmehr wegen ihrer sonderbahren Vortrefflichkeit ins Hochteutsche übersetzet worden, von Konrad Brüßken* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Gedruckt bey Johann Philipp Andreä, MDCXCVII, und Bremen: Philipp Gottfried Saurmann, 1697); Conrad Bröske, *Das heilige Leben der Ersten Christen, Wie dasselibge von Weyland Herrn. D. Hornecken, von Grosbrittania Hofpredigern, aus einem französ. Schreiben…in Englischer Sprache entworffen, und nun auß dem Englischen ins*

to the Hebrews by the Dutchman Peter van Hoeke. Bröske may have known van Hoeke from his student travels to Reformed universities in Holland. Bröske translated van Hoeke's work from Latin into low and high German "on account of its suitability and usefulness."[60] It was an ambitious project: the commentary consisted of 360 pages, plus the author's foreword to the reader, introduction with structural analysis of the whole letter, and scripture and subject indices. Bröske valued the work for several reasons. First, it reflected a Reformed theological perspective, with van Hoeke citing the opinions of Beza, Coccejus and other Reformed teachers.[61] Second, the commentary made impressive use of Biblical languages, commenting on the Greek text of the New Testament by comparison with Greek Septuagint renderings of the Hebrew text.[62] Finally, Bröske agreed with van Hoeke's claim that his commentary was an exemplary piece of Protestant biblical interpretation. "I present here a sample of the analysis of scripture according to my own example, with the intention that a true disciple of Christ may learn rightfully and skilfully to divide the word of truth."[63] Van Hoeke described his method as follows:

> First I give an analysis of the whole letter, and briefly explain the proposition or set forth what the apostle wishes to prove. Then I list the reasons with which he explains and strengthens the proposition. And, what contributes most to a good commentary, I present the force and emphasis of these reasons which support the proposition and…I search carefully for the truth with calm and unconfused mind, taking the main passage into account, holding parallel passages before each other, considering

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Teutsche gebracht, und in einigen Stücken mit dem heutigen Christenthum verglichen (Offenbach: de Launoy, 1699). As the title indicates, this is a work that Hornbeck himself had originally translated from French into English.

[60] These words are found in the title: *Petri Van Hoeke, Dieners am Wort Gottes, Zergliederende Außlegung Des Send-Brieffs An die Hebräer; Worbey vorläuffig eine allgemeine Einleitung befindlich. Aus der Lateinischen in die Nieder-Deutsche, nunmehro aber auch wegen ihrer Vortrefflich- und Nutzbarkeit in die Hoch-Teutsche Sprache treulichst übersetzet Von Conrad Brüßken, Hochgräffl. Isenburg. und Buding. Hoff-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Getruckt und zu finden, bey Johann Philipp Andrea, Buchdruck- und Händlern, 1707). In the copy I consulted in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Bröske's 1707 translation of van Hoeke's commentary was bound together with Bröske's own 1703 commentary on the Revelation of St. John. [See SUB Göttingen: 8vo Theol. bibl. 1036/26] [Göttingen SUB: 8vo Theol. Bibl. 1036/26].

[61] Ibid., p. 184. See also the introduction, "Einleitung."

[62] Ibid., pp. 95, 184.

[63] "Vorrede an den Leser," *Petri Van Hoeke*, p. vii. "Ich stelle hier eine Probe von Zergliederung der Schrifft nach meinem Leisten und Muster dar, in der Absicht daß ein wahrer Jünger Christi das Wort der Wahrheit recht und geschicklich theilen lerne."

> the main purpose, keeping in mind the context and considering the circumstances, noticing the force of the words and manner of speaking, and tracing the course of events and history at that time, bringing in now and then the ancients, examples, various readings, translations, interpretations, philological and critical opinions, and bringing all this to the rule of the faith…[64]

> Demonstrating Scripture with Scripture forcefully and so to speak tangibly…[this] the ancient and worthy Fathers pursued in their preaching…Certainly the foremost teachers of the early church, Origen, Ambrose, Chrysostom and others, made great and enthusiastic use of the analysis of Scripture, and the leaders of the early Reformation, Luther, Calvin, Bugenhagen, Bullinger, Walther, Beza, Piscator and their like, were of the same opinion. The most excellent and famous among the teachers in school and church of the Reformed churches sing and state the same thing to this day, and whoever has some understanding and intelligence in his head agrees fully.[65]

Bröske identified with this tradition of interpretation, and sought to promote it among his German readers.

Finally, under Bröske's oversight as censor, Offenbach became the publishing capital of the growing Philadelphian movement within Germany. The list of authors published by Bröske's press reads like a who's who of heterodox German Pietists and separatists. Between 1686 and 1723 de Launoy's Offenbach press put out 104 books. The vast majority reflected a Philadelphian, millennialist theology and worldview. Twenty-two of these were authored by Conrad Bröske; six were by Johann Henrich Reitz; five by Johann Christoph Bröske; five by Heinrich Horch; four by Johann Konrad Dippel; two by Johann Wilhelm Petersen; one each by Christian Hoburg, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, Gottfried Arnold, Samuel König, Thomas Beverley, Jane Leade and Thomas Bromley.[66]

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[64] Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

[65] Ibid., pp. 5, 6. "Schrifft mit Schrifft kräfftig und gleichsam handgreifflich zu beweisen…die alten und Ehrwürdigen Vätter mit ihren Predigen austrieben… Allerdings hatten die vornehmsten Lehrer der ersten Kirchen, Origenes, Ambrosius, Chrysostomus und andere mit der Schrifft-Zergliederung gern und viel zu thun, und die Häupter der jüngsten Reformation, Luther, Calvin, Bugenhagen, Bullinger, Walther, Beza, Piscator und ihres gleichen waren eben der Meinung. Die Vortrefflichste und Berühmteste aus den Schul- und Kirchen-Lehrern der Reformirten Gemeinden singen und sagen noch diese Stunde darvon und wer nur Verstand und Hirn im Kopff hat, stimmet gern mit volligem Beyfall zu."

[66] See Schrader, "Titelliste der Offenbacher Drucke (1686–1723)," *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt*, pp. 141–158. For the titles of Bröske works published in Offenbach, see Ibid., pp. 143f., 154, 438 n. 80.

Conclusion

Conrad Bröske's literary career offers valuable insight into the world of the Philadelphian Pietist book trade. He must rank as one of the most prolific authors in promoting the Philadelphian cause. Despite his situation as court preacher in a relatively obscure rural county, his literary output was impressive. Most of his works were polemical as he found himself under continual pressure to respond to charges of theological novelty and heresy. The readership of his writings is likewise impressive. Bröske had an eager audience for his works, not only within his own congregation but far afield as well. Gottfried Arnold and the Prince of East Friesland owned books by Bröske. Most impressive of all is the way Bröske opened the floodgates of Pietist printing by translating and promoting the works of leading Philadelphian writers. In the flurry of publishing activity in Offenbach, Bröske contributed as prolific author, vigorous promoter, polemicist and broad-minded censor of Philadelphian literature. His unique importance lies in the way he combined so many strategic roles in promoting the Pietist Philadelphian vision.

By the time he wrote his autobiographical reflections in 1710, Bröske's days as an enthusiastic chiliast were behind him. In listing his writings, Bröske consigned his ambitious Philadelphian dialogues, *Die Unterredungen*, to the category of "Scharteken," relatively worthless. He did not include his translation of Beverley's *Time-line with the Signs of the Times from the Beginning to the End of the World*. His main millenarian publications were confined to a ten year period between 1694 and 1704. After that, Bröske focused on publishing volumes of his Gospel sermons.

CONCLUSION

This study of Conrad Bröske has arrived at conclusions that illumine not only the life and career of a court preacher but also our understanding of religion and culture in the early modern German empire and beyond. Conrad Bröske was the key figure in the earliest chapter of Philadelphian-inspired book production, unmatched in his many-faceted promotion of heterodox Pietist writings and ideas. Bröske contributed as prolific author, translator and broad-minded censor of the Offenbach press. Under his oversight the Offenbach press brought to light the heterodox millennialist writings of Thomas Beverley, Jane Leade, Johann Henrich Reitz, Heinrich Horch, Johann Konrad Dippel, Johann Wilhelm and Johanna Eleonora Petersen, and many others—literature that was illegal throughout the rest of the empire. The first beginnings of freedom of the press in the German empire can be credited to figures such as Conrad Bröske.

Bröske's story also provides a window into the rediscovery of eschatology among the Pietists in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Under the influence of Thomas Beverley and Jane Leade, Bröske joined the Petersens in promoting a sophisticated form of millennial belief that met with a wide response from German readers. Bröske understood biblical prophecy to point to a period of millennial peace prior to the eternal state and whose time of preparation was imminent.[1] In the not-too-distant future, political and confessional conflicts would cease and Christ would reign with his people on earth in the millennial Philadelphian age. The signs were clear. "Anyone who pays attention observes a great movement among the Jews, Christians and heathen."[2] Bröske was convinced that the baptism of a Turkish

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[1] Konrad Brüßke, *Zacharias Güldener Leuchter Und Zween Oel-Bäume. Das ist Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Erklärung deß 4ten Kapittels der Weissagungen Obgedachten Profetens. Den 27. Wintermonats deß Jahrs Christus 1695 In der Reformirten Hoch-Teutschen Kirchen zu Hanau offentlich vorgestellet* (Hanau: Johann Matthias Stann, 1696), pp. 18f.

[2] Conrad Bröske, *Die Nach des Profeten Zacharias Weissagung, Zu erwartende häuffige Abdanckung Der Schlimmen Prediger, kurtz entworffen. Zach. XIII. v. 4. 5.* (Gedruckt im Jahr 1700), pp. 10f. "A large number of teachers among the Mohammadans are no longer satisfied with Mohammad's dreams, but seek after better-founded truths, such as the trinity in God, the divinity of the Messiah in his humanity, and the future judgment

servant girl on the 21st of October 1694 in the Reformed Church in Offenbach was not just a single event in the varying fortunes of the church's experience over the centuries; rather, it was a sign that a new era was dawning marked by mass conversions, the like of which the church had never before seen.

Bröske accepted Beverley's account of the events that would accompany the coming millennial age. Beverley confidently asserted that in the year 1700 the great revolution (*Umdrehung*) would come to pass, when the kingdoms of this world would pass away and become the kingdom of God and Christ.[3] This revolution would bring with it the fall of the papacy and, soon after, the fall of "the horror of Muhammad."[4] He likewise anticipated the downfall of "the whole set of Protestant dignitaries, of archbishops, bishops and the like" with the arrival of the new order of Philadelphian equality under the chief shepherd. In this new order, the gospel would be proclaimed to the ends of the earth and heathen and Jews everywhere would come to Christ.[5] The saints would reign with Christ for a thousand years and live in the new heaven and the new earth. They would live as Adam had lived in paradise before the fall. After the thousand years, the godless would be cast into the fire along with Satan, the beast and his prophets.[6]

Most importantly, this study has unfolded the two sides of Conrad Bröske's complex existence "between Sardis and Philadelphia," as both a Reformed court preacher in Offenbach and a Philadelphian chiliast. Bröske's credentials as a Reformed preacher are impressive. He came of a family of Protestant clergy going back to the sixteenth century.[7] He completed his studies at the Calvinist Philipps-University in Marburg in 1682, and made study tours that acquainted him with leading

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of Christ…Many with these opinions have become leading Christians in the churches and courts…"

[3] *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Georg Henrich Oehrling, 1695), pp. 10, 11, 14. Beverley said he was as certain of his reading of the prophetical signs as he was in determining the arrival of spring each year. He knew this "most certainly, and without fail" and "without any chance of contradiction."

[4] *Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register*, p. 16. "Ich erwarte den Fall deß Pabstthums, als das vornehmste Theil des Abfalls, und bald hernach der Muhamedischen Grausamkeit, welche biß so lange noch dauren wird, und nicht länger."

[5] *Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register*, pp. 18f.

[6] *Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register*, pp. 218–221.

[7] Bröske's great-great-grandfather Werner Bröske (1500–1575) was appointed the first Protestant pastor in Balhorn in Nieder-hessen by the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse.

Reformed scholars in Geneva, Utrecht, Leiden, Harderwyck, Amsterdam, London, Oxford and Heidelberg. In 1686, at twenty-six years of age, Bröske took up the position of court preacher to the Reformed Count of Ysenburg-Offenbach, whom Bröske served until he died in 1713.[8] Bröske worked in a confessional church setting into which all members of the community were baptized, and in which preaching, the Supper, catechism and discipline served as means of grace. Bröske taught his parishioners the Reformed faith according to the *Heidelberg Catechism*, instructing young children as well as preaching weekly from the *Catechism*. Bröske's exposition of the *Catechism* went through four editions and was used as a model by churches in other regions.[9] Bröske objected to any form of sectarianism. "When I hear of sectarianisms, especially of the creation of new sects these days, invariably a shiver runs over me."[10] Separatism, he believed, only increased divisions within Christendom.

It comes as something of a surprise when, in the early 1690s, Bröske began promoting the Philadelphian paradigm that looked for dramatic renewal of the individual, church and society by regenerate Christian love. Bröske's mentors in influencing his prophetic turn were the English chiliasts Thomas Beverley and Jane Leade, both prolific authors on millenarian themes and critics of any form of established religion. By late 1694 Bröske had aligned himself with the writings and ideas of Beverley and was an enthusiastic, but not uncritical, proponent of Beverley's views and general scheme of millennial expectation. The key influencing factors were Bröske's brief meeting with Beverley in London in summer of 1693, his reading and translation of Beverley's works, the encouragement of his brother Johann Hermann, and events surrounding the baptism of a young Turkish woman in Offenbach in October 1694. By 1698 Bröske was also promoting the works of Jane Leade. Bröske had already established himself as a leading figure within the German

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[8] See Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 409f., and Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 131ff.

[9] Conrad Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede wider die von einigen zu der Elberfeldischen Classe gehörigen Herrn Prediger, ohne sein Verschulden hinter ihm her mit Unrecht ausgestreuete Schmachreden* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 12. März 1705), p. 14.

[10] "Ja ich kann den Herrn versichern, wann ich von Sectirereyen höre insonheit neuen die man jetzt erst machen will…daß mir allemal ein Schauder über die Haut laufft…" Conrad Bröske, *Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700), p. 8.

Philadelphian movement by the time Heinrich Horch, Johann Henrich Reitz and Gottfried Arnold arrived on the Philadelphian scene.

Bröske's "life between paradigms," between Sardis and Philadelphia, was most apparent in his disputes with Johann Konrad Dippel and the Elberfeld Classis. Dippel's judgment of Bröske has formed the thesis of this study and nicely frames Bröske's position as court preacher and Philadelphian chiliast: "He [Bröske] has sought till now to stand at once on both sides, and through the power of his own intellect to combine old and new, good and bad with each other."[11] Dippel represented Bröske's bad conscience. Why not live out the full implications of the Philadelphian commitment to a renewal of church and Christian existence and forsake the Babel of state-supported churches? While for Dippel Bröske's Philadelphian claims were suspect, for the Elberfeld preachers his claims as a Reformed pastor were suspect because of his Philadelphian chiliasm.

Far from being a conundrum or isolated case, the two-sided experience of Conrad Bröske was actually the norm among seventeenth and eighteenth century Pietists, including so-called radicals. The Pietists were caught up in a desire to bring renewal to the Reformation churches and to see higher levels of Christian love and holiness among true, born-again believers. Yet, at the same time, Pietist leaders fulfilled their duties in traditional church settings, conducting sacraments in parish churches and drawing their salaries from the churches and authorities whom they often condemned. In Celle, Johann Arndt (1555–1621) served for ten years as general superintendent to the Prince of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, while Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) served in Dresden as chief court preacher of Saxony. More significant is the fact that a large number of "radical" Pietists, both Lutheran and Reformed, also fall into the "between paradigms" category, with numerous court preachers and superintendents among them.[12] Johann Christian Lange

[11] "Er hat biß hieher gesuchet auf beyden Seiten zugleich zu stehen, und durch die Würcksamkeit seines Verstandes altes und neues, gutes und böses unter einander zu mischen…" Johann Konrad Dippel, *Christlich-gesinntes Send-Schreiben an Herrn Conrad Brüßken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, worin… sein letzt-publicirtes Scriptum genannt: Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion mit nützlichen und nöthigen Anmerckungen Den Wahrheits-Begierigen Seelen zum Besten, weiter erkläret und illustriret wird* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1701) in *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen* (Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709), p. 990.

[12] Notable examples include Theodor Undereyck (1635–1693) in Kassel and Bremen, Johann Wilhelm Petersen (1649–1727) in Holstein and Lüneburg, and Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) in Werben and Perleberg. Other examples include Johann Heinrich Sprögel

(1669–1756) served for forty years as court preacher and superintendent in Idstein under the Pietist-minded Prince Georg August Samuel of Nassau. A recent study has shown that "the inner light is for Lange more important than the outward forms of worship; however, after his call to Idstein he was once again prepared to preach and to celebrate the Lord's Table in the church setting."[13] While serving in a parish church, Lange continued to look for the destruction of Babel and the coming kingdom of Christ.

German radicalism, then, remained a rather disappointing phenomenon in terms of its duplicity, impact and staying power. The radical potential of the renewal paradigm and Philadelphian theology was scarcely realized in the German setting.[14] It appears that Christian existence between paradigms was the German way of being radical in early modern times. A couple of historical factors help to account for this German way of being radical. First, and most obviously, is the relative lack of religious toleration in German lands compared to England and the Netherlands. Heterodox Pietists had no legal standing comparable to that provided by the *Act of Toleration* in England in 1689. During the seventeenth century English Civil War and Interregnum there flowered an astounding variety of forms of Christian sectarianism

(1644–1722) in Quedlinburg; Ludwig Christoph Schefer (1669–1731) in Berleburg from 1700 to 1731; Bernhard Meyer (d. 1730), pastor for twenty-four years in Elberfeld; Samuel König (1671–1750) in Bern from 1698 to 1699; and Johann Philipp Marquard (1668–1727) in Laubach, the residence city of the Count of Solms-Laubach.

[13] Karl Gottfried Goebel, *Johann Christian Lange (1669–1756): Seine Stellung zwischen Pietismus und Aufklärung* (Darmstadt and Kassel: Verlag der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung, 2004), pp. 324f.

[14] Not included in the between paradigms category are consistently radical separatists such as Johann Jakob Schütz, Johann Konrad Dippel, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber (1665–1728) and Johann Friedrich Rock (1678–1749), as well as communities of the Inspired and the Schwarzenau New Baptists. But many, if not most, of the so-called radicals could not live with such consistency. The material demands of everyday life got in the way of other-worldly idealism. Heinrich Horch's radical period lasted from 1698 to 1708. The community surrounding Eva von Buttlar (1670–1721) was an ephemeral phenomenon lasting from 1700 to 1706, when it dissolved under the pressures of constant opposition and arrest. Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 174–176. Many Pietists were marked by a radical phase followed by a moderate phase, by a radical side and a conformist side. James Stayer observed of the radical reformers of the sixteenth century that the "radical moment" was hard to sustain. James M. Stayer, "The Passing of the Radical Moment in the Radical Reformation," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 71:1 (January 1997), pp. 147–152.

and millenarian thought.[15] By the end of the seventeenth century the English government and society were prepared to tolerate the sects. The Thirty Years War in German lands likewise inspired currents of renewal and millennial piety, but the response of German authorities was quite different. The mood of toleration was much more restrained. Pietists had to fit within the three tolerated confessions, Roman Catholic, Reformed and Evangelical, or they faced the constant threat of imprisonment and exile. An inflexible confessional culture was still dominant. The harsh suppression of sixteenth century Reformation radicals remained a model for ruling authorities and Orthodox Lutherans, and an abiding threat hanging over the heads of the Pietists. Such a climate was unwelcoming to millennialism and to separatism.[16] The clearest alternative for many Pietists was emigration to the New World. Many did in fact emigrate to America.[17] Others, such as Dippel and Horch, contemplated exile but chose to live a frustrated existence at home.

Another factor restraining the German form of radicalism was the sense of loyalty that most Pietists felt towards the Reformation heritage. Bröske is a good example of this. He was historically-minded, showing pride in his own family's Reformation heritage and appreciation for Reformation doctrines and catechisms such as the *Heidelberg Catechism*.

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[15] See Christopher Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People: John Bunyan and His Church* (Oxford: 1988), and Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975). In the latter work, Hill refers to the "masterless men of the protestant sectaries… [who] had chosen the condition of masterlessness by opting out of the state church." Such masterless men existed in "alarming numbers" in the seventeenth century. Hill estimates about 13,000 lived in the forest and pastoral regions of the north, and about 30,000 in London. (p. 41)

[16] Sectarian groups became more and more socially withdrawn. Hans Schneider observed this with reference to groups in the Wetterau: "The Separatists lived their 'quiet and withdrawn' life as solitary souls or in families, in the greatest imaginable state of seclusion. Despite various contacts and shared outlook, they rarely achieved any lasting form of communal life. There were not even any regular gatherings for encouragement and edification such as came about under Hochmann von Hochenau among the Separatists in Wittgenstein; no such gatherings arose in the Wetterau." Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann, ed. *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), p. 131.

[17] The separatist communities in Schwarzenau and Berleburg each had some 300 residents. In Schwarzenau Hochmann von Hochenau and Alexander Mack led a community of "New Baptists." Under Mack's leadership the community moved to Pennsylvania and exists to this day. In 1715 the first prayer gathering of the "Inspired" was formed in the counties of Ysenburg and Hanau under Eberhard Ludwig Gruber. A group of them migrated to America as well. Wallmann, *Der Pietismus*, pp. 172f., 176–179.

His Philadelphianism was greatly moderated as a result. He never lived up to the radicalism of his mentors, Beverley and Leade. There was no room in Bröske's piety for visionary mysticism, for separatism, or for Dippel's perfectionism. Bröske retained the sacraments, including infant baptism, because he was convinced by historical arguments that they went back to the early church. A form of Spiritualism seemed to work best for Bröske and many other Pietists whereby they encouraged Christian people to live by faith, hope and love within traditional church settings, and to look for a day when Christian love and unity would be fully realized among God's people on earth.

This raises the question as to whether Bröske should be considered a radical Pietist or a moderate, ecclesial Pietist. Hans-Jürgen Goertz suggests that the term "radical" should apply to those who disturb societal norms and power structures and undermine social order and peace. This disturbance can arise equally from theological argument and from political action.[18] By this definition, it is hard to place a figure such as Conrad Bröske in the radical category. Hans Schneider suggests two criteria for identifying the radicals: separatism in rejecting established churches and/or heterodoxy in teaching doctrines that depart from the Reformation confessions. The last criterion is problematic for, from an orthodox Lutheran and Reformed perspective, all Pietists were heterodox in postulating a coming earthly kingdom of Christ, whose arrival could be determined by observing world events.[19] Equally heterodox were Pietist practices of conventicle gatherings in homes and the demand for a normative conversion experience and signs of renewal of life. Judging by these innovations, Spener, Francke, and Oetinger were all heterodox and, therefore, radical. This study has recast Pietist experience as inherently conflicted, substituting a sliding scale for previous notions of church Pietism and radical Pietism. Placing Bröske and most Pietists in the "between paradigms" category makes the radical-moderate distinction less useful.

Finally, the study has shown that the world of this Pietist court preacher was truly an international one in terms of his circle of men-

[18] Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Einleitung," in Hans-Jürgen Goertz, ed., *Radikale Reformatoren* (München: C.H. Beck, 1978), p. 17. "Radikal wären demnach jeder Gedanke und jede Aktion, sofern sie die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen angreifen, selbst wenn sie ganz andere als gesellschaftliche Ziele im Auge hätten; radikal wären theologische Argumentationen nur, wenn sie das Herrschaftsgefüge bedrohten…"

[19] Schneider acknowledged that "heterodoxy" could apply to a wide range of Pietist figures. See Hans Schneider, *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 9 (1983), pp. 134f.

tors and associates, and his religious identity. Bröske's story belongs to the rise of "Early Evangelicalism" that W.R. Ward has recently set in its global setting. For Ward the Pietists represent an early Evangelicalism in central Europe that blossomed in England and America in the eighteenth century in John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards. In the course of the eighteenth century, however, Evangelicals lost their earlier intellectual cohesion. It was a fragmented Evangelicalism that reinvented itself in North American revivalism and in present-day forms of Evangelical religion.[20] Characteristic features of the early German Pietist-Evangelicals included the experiences of conversion, regeneration and renewal, and house meetings for prayer and edification, all undergirded by intense millennial fevers and expectations. In the German setting one must also reckon with the mysticism of Jakob Böhme and Jane Leade, a widespread fascination with alchemy and kabbalah, and a non-Aristotelian view of the created world—either vitalism or Cartesianism.[21] While the whole package, or hexagon as Ward calls it,[22] may not have been as widespread or as cohesive as Ward suggests, mysticism, alchemy and anti-Aristotelianism were certainly in the atmosphere in which Pietism and early Evangelicalism were nourished.

Ward's effort to provide a truly global intellectual history of Evangelicalism is a welcome advance that has been a long time in coming. One hopes that it represents the beginnings of a new stage in the scholarly understanding of Pietism and Evangelicalism. Till now researchers in these two fields have pursued their studies largely in blissful isolation from one another.[23] Yet these two movements are historically inter-

[20] W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism. A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[21] Bröske was favourably inclined to Descartes. In his Marburg days he came under the influence of Samuel Andreae and Heinrich Horch, a Dozent teaching Cartesian philosophy in Marburg. Bröske's disputation under Samuel Andreae in 1681 defended a Cartesian point of view.

[22] Ward, *Early Evangelicalism*, pp. 4, 193.

[23] Volume three of the new history of Pietism includes a chapter by Mark Noll (in German translation) on Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in North America. It is somewhat surprising, then, that in his recent study of the rise of Evangelicalism Noll grants Pietism only the briefest mention under early "antecedents and stirrings" in the direction of Evangelical piety. Clearly the linguistic barrier remains a formidable one in preventing a closer exchange and inter-action among those working in the two fields. See Ulrich Gäbler, ed., *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 466–531, and Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), pp. 60–65.

mingled to a degree that invites viewing them in many respects as one. Certainly early modern German Pietists and English Evangelicals read each other's works and often required no translations to do so. Wesley, for example, taught himself German from Moravian hymnbooks.[24] Scholars too should be prepared to view these movements from a trans-Atlantic, cross-linguistic perspective. Without the likes of Conrad Bröske and the Pietists, Evangelicalism in England and America appears as a kind of orphan, cut off from its German parentage and siblings.

[24] W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992), p. 310.

APPENDIX ONE

CONRAD BRÖSKE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF 1710

Conrad Bröske. "Brief, 10 April, 1710." Ms Hass 103, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel

Conrad Bröske, currently Court Preacher to the distinguished Count in Offenbach am Main, was born on March 23, 1660, in Balhorn in the region of Gudensberg. Among his forebearers was his great great grandfather Werner Bröske, Pastor in Balhorn in lower Hesse where he died in 1575. Conrad's great grandfather was Johannes Bröske, who succeeded his father Werner Bröske in office as Preacher in Balhorn in July 1575, and died in 1610 on Thursday, the day of Christ. Conrad's grandfather Henrich Bröske was justice of the peace[1] in Balhorn for some time, living on the family estate. He later assumed the post of administrator in the Buttler region on the Elbe Mountain, and resided there till his death. Conrad's father Herman Bröske was learned in both letters and the law, and served as mayor of Balhorn.

In 1667 Conrad began Latin studies with the Balhorn clergyman at that time, Conrad Winter of Cassel. In 1670, when Winter passed away, Conrad was sent to school in Wolfhagen in Hesse under the oversight and tutelage of the two teachers, Mr. Johannis Schumhütten of Zierenberg, later Preacher in Elgießhausen, and Mr. Johannis Victoris, Rector in Wolfhagen. In 1675 Bröske was sent to the Gymnasium in Hersfeld under the tutelage of Mr. Johann Daniel Krug, Rector and expert in law, and Mr. Johann Martin Johrenius of Gudensberg, Co-Rector.

In 1678 Bröske went to Marburg where he began attending public lectures, continuing there until 1682. In 1683 he traveled to Geneva where he attended lectures by the famed theologians Mestresat, Turretin and Tronchin as well as hearing other learned preachers. In 1684 he was called away from Geneva to Offenbach near Frankfurt as Second

[1] The term, "Juris peritus," can be variously taken to mean an expert in law, a lawyer. In this case it may mean someone who acted in the community as a kind of justice of the peace. See Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, ed., *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, Revised, Enlarged, and in great part Rewritten* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), p. 1018.

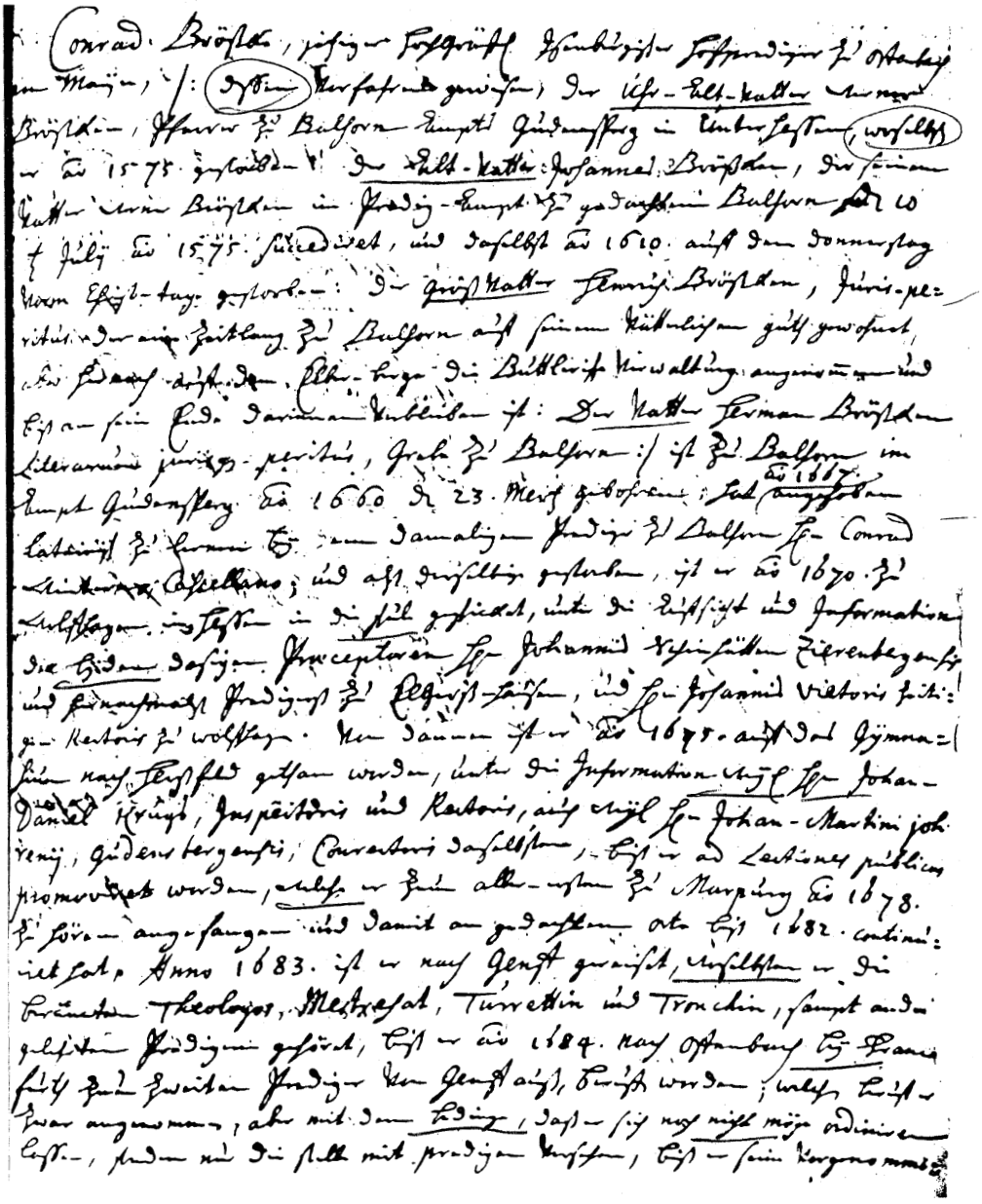

Fig. 7. Bröske's autobiographical account in a letter dated April 10, 1710.

Preacher. He accepted the call on condition that he would only be ordained and take over the position after he had completed his intended trips to Holland and England and had had the opportunity to learn the Dutch and English languages along with the French he had already mastered. He did in fact become fully fluent in all three languages.

In 1685 Bröske traveled to Utrecht where he heard the famed theology professors Leidecker, Mastricht, Witsius and Halerius, at that time famous the world over for their impressive abilities in the Hebrew tongue. In the same year he traveled on to Leiden where he heard three professors of theology, Spanheim, son of Frederick Spanheim, Wittich and Le Mogne. In 1686 he went to the Gelderland University in Harderwyck and spent some time with theology professor Mr. Mayer. Bröske then continued his journey to Amsterdam, Rotterdam and England. He took with him good letters of commendation from Mr. Spanheim in Leiden to be presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Oxford, letters which greeted each one by name. He also [met] many other learned and distinguished men among whom were Dr. Horneck of the Regius Chapel in London, Dr. Pococke, Regius Professor of Oriental Languages in Christ College, and Mr. Bernard, Regius Professor, both at Oxford. As he had earlier done in going to and from Geneva, Bröske continued his travels hither and yon, visiting learned men in the Pfalz, Elsass and Switzerland, in Heidelberg, Strassburg, Basel, Bern and Lausanne. However, he cut short his trip back from England, through Holland to Heidelberg, so that he could attend the anniversary celebrations going on in Heidelberg.

He returned to Offenbach where he had been called to serve as Court Preacher and First Preacher. He accepted the call and was promptly ordained by the church council at a ceremony held in Heidelberg. He received unexpected invitations over the years to serve in the preaching office in other places, such as Elberfeld in the County of Bergen, and Frankfurt am Mayn. But he was not ready to abandon the good work he had undertaken in the churches and schools in Offenbach; to the time of writing, he has remained to serve them rather than take up another calling.

In Marburg he held five public disputations; three were a public debate within the college, two were disputations in physics. One was on the weight of bodies under Dr. May, Ordinarius Professor of Medicine and Physics. The other was on the identity of body and space for the Magister degree under Dr. Samuel Andreae, Professor

of Theology extra-ordinarius, and also Ordinarius Professor of history and eloquence.

His other publications are the following.

Conrad Bröske, *Der Heidelbergische Catechismus, samt einer Zergliederung wodurch diese sonst starke Speise dem schwachen zur Milch gemacht worden, von Conrad Brößken zum vierten mahl gedruckt*. Offenbach: Bonaventure de Launoy. 1709. duodecimo

Der entdeckte Wider-Christ, oder Schrift- und geschichtmäßige Erklärung der Weissagung des Apostels 2 Thess. II, 3–8, worinnen zugleich einige dunkele Gesichter Daniels und der Offenbahrung sehr deutlich vorgestellt und damit etliche Strahlen eines in Gedanken schwebenden Schlüssels zu der Offenbahrung Johannis gezeigt werden. Ehemals öffentlich und mündlich in einer vornehmen holländischen Stadt vorgestellet, und nun zum Druck beschrieben von einem, welcher das Thier hasset und Christum Bekennet. Gedruckt 1692. 8vo

Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis, Sampt Einer Taffel und Kupffer, Worinnen die gantze Offenbahrung in die richtigste und deutlichste Ordnung gestellet worden, Durch Conrad Brößken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach. Offenbach am Mayn: Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy. 1703. in 4to

Conrad Brößkens Hochgräffl. Hofprediger zu Offenbach am Mayn, In einer Predigt über Matth. VIII:11 den 21. Winter-monats 1694. vorgestellte und auff gnädigsten Befehl im Druck heraußgegebene Zum Theil erfüllete und noch zu erfüllen bevorstehende Bekehrung der Heyden, und Johann-Christoph Brüßkens, Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburg- und Büdingischen Pfarrherrns daselbst, In einer Predigt über Apost. Gesch. VIII: 36, 37, 38 erklärete Mohren-Tauffe. Sampt Einer außführlichen Erzehlung der am selbigen Tage zu Offenbach vorgefallenen und verrichteten, ins gemein so genanten Türcken-Tauffe. Als einer gebohrnen Türckin die sich zu dem Drey-Einigen waaren lebendigen Gott bekehret, nach abgelegter sehr herrlichen Glaubens-Bekäntnuß, auff Ihre inständiges Inhalten und Verlangen die H. Tauffe mitgetheilet worden. Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy. in 8vo

Ein Schlüssel über Herrn Beverleys, eines Englischen Gottes-Lehrers und Predigers in London, Zeit-Register, worinnen alle seine bisher dunkel gebliebene Sätze und Meinungen auf vieler Verlangen und Begehren erläutert und klar in ihrer Ordnunge vom Anfange bis zum Ende vorgestellt werden. Samt einer Antwort auff Hn. Jungmanns Anmerckungen über gedachtes Zeit-Register. Worinnen beständig erwiesen wird, daß diese Anmerckungen die Zeit-Rechnunge nicht so sehr umstossen als bevestigen, und im übrigen entweder ohne Grund von Irrthümern reden oder auch wol gar dem Hn. Beverley Meynungen zuschreiben, die er ganz nicht lehret sondern selbsten als irrig verwirffet; Und also das Zeit-Register mit seinen Zeichen der Zeiten durch diese Anmerckungen im geringsten noch nicht geträncket ist. Mit

einer Vorrede Ohne welche der Leser billich nichts von dieser Verfassunge lesen soll. Auff Begehren auffgesetzt Von dem Übersetzer des Zeit-Registers. Franckfurt am Mayn zu finden bei Johann David Zunner: Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy zu Offenbach. 1697. in 8vo

Die Grosse Welt-Woche, gezeiget in der Ersten Wochen der Welt, d.i. eine deutliche Vorstellung der grossen Geheimnissen, welche in denen sechs Tagen der Schöpfung und dem darauf erfolgten siebenden Ruhe-Tage enthalten seynd. Worinnen alle merckliche Begebenheiten vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt, in sieben Zeit-Theile eingetheilt und mit ihrem Muster durchgehends verglichen werden. Sampt einer Vorrede in welcher einige ungegründete Lästerungen wider Herrn Beverley beantwortet, auch einige Ungewißheiten, ja selbsten Unrichtigkeiten in seinem Zeit-Register gezeiget, aber auch zugleich entschuldiget und verbessert werden. Alles nach Anleitung des göttlichen geoffenbarten Worts aufgesetzt und beschrieben von Conrad Brüßken hochgräfl. Isenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn. Hanau: Druckts Joh. Matthias Stann. 1696. in 8vo

Die wahre Christen-Tauffe auß Gottes Wort beschrieben durch Conrad Bröske, Hofprediger zu Offenbach. Offenbach Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy. in 8vo

Conrad Brößkens Wahre Christen-Tauffe wie auch Die Gültigkeit der Kinder-Tauffe, Verthädiget wider den so genanten Probier-Stein dieser Tauffen. Offenbach am Mayn: Druckts Bonvaventura de Launoy 1702. in 8vo

Das Gebet des Herrn, seinem höchsten Innhalte nach, aus heil. Schrift erkläret, durch Conrad Brößke, Hofprediger zu Offenbach. Offenbach: Bonaventure de Launoy. 1702.

Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion, kurz entworfen durch Conrad Brößken Hofprediger zu Offenbach. Offenbach Druckts Bonav. de Launoy. 1701.

Der Melchisedek schrifftmäßig beschrieben von Conrad Brößken, Hofprediger zu Offenbach. Franckfurt am Mayn: Bey Georg Heinrich Walthern. Im Jahr 1705.

Das heilige Leben der Ersten Christen, Wie dasselibge von Weyland Herrn. D. Hornecken, von Grosbrittania Hofpredigern, aus einem französ. Schreiben… in Englischer Sprache entworffen, und nun von Conrad Brößken, Hofpredigern zu Offenbach auf folgende Weise auß dem Englischen ins Teutsche gebracht, und in einigen Stücken mit dem heutigen Christenthum verglichen ist. Offenbach Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy. 1699. in 8vo

Conrad Brößkens Rechtmäßige Schutzrede wider die von einigen zu der Elberfeldischen Classe gehörigen Herrn Prediger, ohne sein Verschulden hinter ihm her mit Unrecht ausgestreuete Schmachreden, und deren so unbesonnenes als unchristliches

Betragen gegen die den 7 November 1704 zu Elberfeld gehaltene Predigers-Wahl. Gedruckt Offenbach ao. 1705. in 4to

Conrad Brößkens Waage der Wahrheit, wodurch entdecket wird, die Ungerechtigkeit der in Gottes Wort so hart verbotenen falschen Waagschalen, womit einige reformirte Herren Prediger der Elberfeldischen Classe im Herzogthum Bergen, die durch ihn Aufrichtigkeit zur Prüfung vorgestellte Lehre der ersten ältesten und rechtsinnigsten Christen, vom täusendjährigen Reiche, wie auch einige andern seiner Red-Arten und Meynungen ungebürlich abgewogen haben. Praefixa ad Epistola Apologetica ad Facultatem Theologicam Lugduno-Batavan. Offenbach Druckts Bon. de Launoy. 1706. in 8vo

Conrad Brößkens Natur- Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Betrachtungen, der so genannten Sonn- und Fest-Täglichen Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr. Darinnen 1. Alle Evangelien deutlich entworfen und erkläret. 2. Die Lehr-Warheiten nach der Reihe vorgestellet; und 3. die darinnen befindliche Sachen auß eine geheime und bildliche Weise zugeeignet werden. Offenbach Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy. 1710. in 4to

Unmasgeblicher Vorschlag, wie das ganze geoffenbarte Wort Gottes, welches in den Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments enthalten ist, klar möge ausgelegt werden, so daß es jedermann, auch der allergeringste, meistens verstehen könne. in 4to

Zweyfache Probe, wie man das ganze heil. Wort Gottes dermassen erklären und durch Zusammenbringung aller von einerley Sachen handlender Schrift-Oerter, so deutlich machen könne, daß es ein jeder, der nur ein wenig Fleiß anwenden will, nicht allein meistens verstehen, sondern auch andern auslegen und erklären kann. in folio.

Numerous other worthless pieces (Andere viele Scharteken):

Die Acht Unterredungen zwischen einem Politico und Theologo.
Das Feuer brennt, wer wills löschen.
Das Jahr, Monath und Tag der Geburth Jesu Christi.
Die Nach des Profeten Zacharias Weissagung, Zu erwartende häuffige Abdanckung Der Schlimmen Prediger, kurtz entworffen. Zach. XIII. v. 4. 5.
Wein und Oel In die Wunden Des zuheilenden Democriti.
Der durch Konrad Brüßken nun Recht beschämte Democritus.
Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus.
Augen-Salbe Vor den Hn. Democritum und seine Anhänger.

Deran etliche gegen den bekanten Dippelarum, die seine Sachen unter dem Nahmen Democriti Christiani herausgegeben gerichtet, seynd nicht in Consideration zu ziehen.

But one more:

> *Schrift- und Naturmäßige Gedanken von der Ehe zwischen Bluts-Freunden, dabey insonderheit die Frage: Ob ein Mann seines Bruders oder Schwester Tochter heurathen dürffen. Weitläufftig betrachtet, und deren Bejahung oder Affirmative Von Conrad Bröβke Auβ Göttlichen und Natürlichen Rechten gründlich bestättiget wird.* Offenbach Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy. 1709.

In manuscript ready for the press (In Manuscriptis liegen zum Druck):

> *Natur-schrift- und geschichtmäßige Beschreib- und Erklärung der mit dem Tempel Salomons in eine Gleichheit gestelleten Hütten Mosis.*
> *Erklärung der Offenbahrung Johannis.*
> *Die erste Welt, oder Erklärung der acht ersten Capitel des ersten Buchs Moses.*

APPENDIX TWO

OVERVIEW OF THE BRÖSKE-DIPPEL FEUD, 1700–1702

What follows is a step by step description of the feud between Bröske and Dippel. A key source for reconstructing the flow of events is Bröske's *Augen-Salbe*, published in late 1700, where he reflected upon the causes of the debate and his efforts to resolve it. Dippel's writings in 1700–1701 are also helpful in reconstructing the sequence because the titles invariably include a reference to the writing that they address.

Pre-cursors to the Feud

1. Gottfried Arnold. *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* (An Impartial History of the Churches and Sects), (Frankfurt a.M. 1699, 1700).
2. Dippel's *The Scourging Papacy of the Protestants* is published in early 1698, creating widespread controversy. Dippel criticized Luther's notion of forensic righteousness because it undermined Christian responsibility for righteous living.
3. In March 1699 the Darmstadt Consistory learned that a new work by Dippel was being printed in Offenbach: *Wine and Oil in the Wounds of the Scourged Protestant Papacy, or Open-Hearted Christian Clarification, Proof and Apology against all Judges of the Book called, The Scourging Papacy of the Protestants*. The Consistory asked the Offenbach authorities to confiscate all copies of the book, which Bröske and de Launoy agreed to do.

Early Stages of the Feud

4. Christiani Democriti, *Summarische und aufrichtige Glaubens-Bekanntniss*. (General and Sincere Confession of Faith), (1700). 27 pp.
5. Philadelphi Heracliti, *Christ-brüderliches Send-Schreiben An seinen lieben Bruder den so genandten Christianum Democritum*. (1700) (Open Epistle of a Christian Brother to his dear Brother the so-called Christian Democritus). 48 pp.
6. "Ich beugete diesem ärgernüß *mündlich* vor und liess ihn warnen; es wolte aber nichts helffen." (*Augen-Salbe*, pp. 3, 29) (Bröske sent a

friend to respond to Dippel's complaint and accusation, urging him not to proceed with the assumption that Bröske was author of the writing by Philadelphus Heraclitus). (See also Bröske, *recht beschämte Dem.*, p. 1).

7. Conrad Bröske, *Wein und Oel in die Wunden des zuheilenden Democriti*. (1700) (*Augen-Salbe*, pp. 3, 30: "gleich geschrieben…" (Written as soon as Bröske heard of Dippel's complaint) 16 pp.
8. Christiani Democriti, *Aufrichtig-Christliche Antwort auf das so genante Christ-brüderliche Send-Schreiben eines wohlbekanten Freundes der sich unter dem Namen Heracliti Philadelphi des Democriti Bruder nennet*. (Sincere Christian Response…). 1700. 26 pp.
9. Conrad Bröske, *Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus In Einem Schreiben an Ihn Von einem Der Wahrheit und Frieden liebet*. (1700) 14 pp.; *Ein Send-Schreiben An den Im Urtheile verruückten Democritum Uber den Wein und das Oel in die Wunden Des zu heylenden Democriti*. (1700) 20 pp.
10. "Es kam zu Bröske *ein gewisser Herr von Franckfurt* der versicherte ihn von seiten des Dem. dass er [Dem.] hinkünfftig nicht mehr schreiben würde gegen Bröske…und wenige tage darauff liess er den lästerlichen halben bogen unter dem Titul seiner 'Anmerckungen oder Antwort über meine beyde Sendschreiben' im Druck herauss gehen." (*Augen-Salbe*, pp. 10, 11) "A certain gentleman from Frankfurt visited Bröske on Dippel's behalf to assure Bröske that in future he would be writing no more treatises against him…but then just a few days later Dippel published *Anmerckungen oder Antwort* concerning my two open letters."
11. Christiani Democriti, *Kurtze Anmerckungen oder Antwort über Titeln Herrn Brüssken hochgräffliche Ysenburgischen Hoff-Predigers zu Offenbach, Beide Send-Schreiben unter dem Titul: Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus, und Der im Urteil verrückte Democritus*. (May, 1700) 7 pp.
12. Conrad Bröske, *Der durch Konrad Brüßken nun recht beschämte Democritus*. (May 27, 1700) (*Augen-Salbe*, pp. 16, 22) 7 pp.
13. Heracliti Philadelphi, *Gemilderte Thränen, Oder Zweites Send- und Antwort-Schreiben An den Ihm von Angesicht gantz unbekanten Democritum.* (Tears Relieved, or a Second Open Letter to the one named Democritus with whom the author is personally not acquainted). (1700) 60 pp.
14. Christiani Democriti, *Nochmalige und letzte Erinnerung an den so wohl ihm als Gott wohl bekannten so genannten Heraclitum Philadelphum, wobei*

zugleich dessen Zweites Send-Schreiben unter dem Titul: Heracliti Philadelphi Gemilderte Thränen, x. mit gehöriger Anmerckung abgefertigt wird. (1700) (*Augen-Salbe*, p. 23) 13 pp.

15. A lost text: Bröske, *Tractat von der Tauffe*, including a foreword concerning Dippel's views in his treatise on Baptism (1700) (*Augen-Salbe*, pp. 11, 12).
16. "Mündliche Unterredung" zwischen Konrad Bröske und Johann Konrad Dippell (Bröske, *Augen-Salbe*, pp. 4, 12, 16).
(A face to face discussion concerning: the identity of Heraclitus; Dippel's *letzte Erinnerung*; whether Bröske should have replied to Dippel as he did in *recht beschämte Democritus* (pp. 24–27); and Bröske's small tract/"Tractätchen" concerning baptism und Democritus' work, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauf*). (*Augen-Salbe*, p. 12).

Later Stages of the Feud

17. Democritus, *Die wahre Wasser-Tauf der Christen aus Gottes Wort beschrieben durch Christianum Democritum*. (1700) 23 pp. (Replies to a no longer extant work by Bröske, *Tractat von der Tauffe*, cf. *Augen-Salbe*, p. 12).
18. Konrad Brüßke, *Augen-Salbe Vor den Hn. Democritum Und Alle die seinen falschen Bezeugungen glauben, Auß Liebe zu ihrer aller Genesung zubereitet*. (1700) 32 pp.
19. Conrad Bröske, *Die wahre Christen-Tauffe auß Gottes Wort beschrieben.* (1701) 72 pp.
20. Konrad Brüßke, *Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion*. See. pp. 59f. (1701) 64 pp.
21. Christiani Democriti, *Christlich-gesinntes Send-Schreiben an Herrn Conrad Brüßken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, worin… sein letzt-publicirtes Scriptum genannt: Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion mit nützlichen und nöthigen Anmerckungen Den Wahrheits-Begierigen Seelen zum Besten, weiter erkläret und illustriret wird*. (1701) 28 pp.
22. Conrad Bröske. *Wahre Christen-Tauffe wie auch Die Gültigkeit der Kinder-Tauffe, Verthädiget wider den so genanten Probier-Stein dieser Tauffen*. (1702). 112 pp.
23. Conrad Bröske, *Über das Gebet des Herrn, seinem höchsten Innhalte nach, aus heil. Schrift erkläret.* Offenbach: Bonaventure de Launoy, 1702. 64 pp.

"Catalogus Democriti Schriften" Catalogus der jenigen Schriften des Authors die zuvor (vor 1700) gedruckt sind

Henrich Georg Neuß, Superintendent in Wernigerode, *Probatio Spiritus et Doctrinae Democriti, das ist Prüfung des Geistes und der Lehre Christiani Democriti, Sonst Dippel genannt, Auf Verlangen Christlicher Freunde Über dessen Summarisch- und auffrichtiges Glaubens-Bekänntniß.* (Franckfurt am Mayn u. Leipzig: Joh. David Bergmann, Königl. u. Churfl. Buchdr. 1701), p. 408

1. *Orcodoxia Orthodoxorum.*
2. *Papismus Protestantium vapulans, oder das gestäupte Pabstum an den Verfechtern der dörfftigen Manschen-Satzungen in protestirender Kirch.*
3. *Wein und Oel in die Wunden des gestäupten Pabstums oder fernere Erklärung und Beweiß desselben.*
4. *Axioma Adami veteris perperam Theologizantis &c. contra Dr. Hannekenium.*
5. *Anfang, Mittel und Ende der Ortho- und Heterodoxie oder kurtzer Theosophischer Entwurff von der Sectirerey.*
6. *Ein Gespräch zwischen Eleutherio und Nicodemo über die Frage: Wie weit der lebendige Gott bey den Göttzen könne gesucht und empfunden werden.*
7. *Der vor dem Thron der Wahrheit angeklagte verhörte und verurtheilte Beicht-Vater des Herrn Pfarrer Cronen zu Trebur Buch genannt: Schlüssel zum Beichtstuhl entgegen gesetzt.*
8. *Christen Stadt auff Erden ohne Lehr-Wehr- und Nehr-Stand, oder kurtze und eigntliche Abbildung derer in dem Reich der Natur entstandenen und im Zorn Gottes bestätigten Ordnungen unter den Menschen Kindern zu Babel die Christi Nahmen führen. Samt einer Untersuchung des auff diese Ordnungen gegründeten Befleckten und unvernünfftigen Gottesdiensts im Gebet fürbitt und Dancksagung.*

APPENDIX THREE

CONRAD BRÖSKE'S DISPUTE WITH THE REFORMED PREACHERS IN ELBERFELD, 1704–1706

Chronology of Key Sources

1. Conrad Brüßke. *Wagschale des tausendjährigen Reiches.* Anno 1704.

*2. *Acti Conventus extraordinarii Classis Elberfeldensis*, gehalten auff der Töniß-Heyden den 15. Decemb. Anno 1704. (Written to oppose the Elberfeld church's election of Bröske on November 7, 1704)

*3. Conrad Bröske. *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede wider die von einigen zu der Elberfeldischen Classe gehörigen Herrn Prediger, ohne sein Verschulden hinter ihm her mit Unrecht ausgestreuete Schmachreden.* Offenbach: de Launoy, 12. März 1705. 16 pp. plus 25 pages of Appendices. [UB Mannheim: Wk 317]

*4. Die Elberfelder Predigern. *Gerechtsame, Abgenöthigte vorauß-lauffende Ablehnung der Evangelisch-Reformirten Prediger Elberfeldischer Class, im Herzogthum Berge Gegen die am 12. Martii 1705 von Hn. Conrad Brößken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn Außgegebene so genante Schutz-Rede.* 1705. 8 pp.

*5. Conrad Brößke. *Billige und auff die Warheit gegründete Zurückweisung der im Namen der Evangelisch-Reformirten Herren Prediger der Elberfeldischen Class, im Druck herauß-gegebene Ablehnung Gegen Conrad Brößkens Hof-Predigers zu Offenbach Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede.* Offenbach: de Launoy, 1705. 11 pages.

*6. Die Elberfelder Predigern. *Wohlbegründete Verthädigung der Wahrheit und Unschuld der Elberfeldischen Classe wider Brüßkes Unrechtmäßige Schutzrede wie auch wider desselben Unbillige Zurückweisung.* Duisburg am Rhein: Johannes Sas/der Königl. Universität Buchdrücker, March 1706. 84 pages.

*7. Die Elberfelder Predigern. *Waagschale worinnen das neu-ersonnene tausendjährige Lust-Himmlisch-Paradiesische Gerichts-Reich Herren Conraden Brößkens und dessen hierüber geführte unschrifftmässige Lehrsätze und andere Rede-Arten nach dem Gewicht des Heiligthums gerechtsam abgewogen und zu leicht befunden worden durch Evangelisch-Reformirte Prediger der Elberfeldischen*

Klasse im Herzogthum Berg. Duisburg am Rhein: Johannes Sas/der Königl. Universität Buchdrücker, March 1706. 440 pages.

8. Conrad Bröske. *Waage der Wahrheit, wodurch entdecket wird, die Ungerechtigkeit der Waagschalen, womit einige Prediger der Elberfeldischen Classe die durch ihn vorgestellte Lehre der ersten Christen, vom täusendjahrigen Reiche, wie auch einige seiner Red-Arten und Meynungen ungebürlich abgewogen haben.* Offenbach: de Launoy, 1706.

* Secondary Source: Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche, dritter Band*. Coblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1860. See especially Chapter 12, "Die philadelphischen und chiliastischen Anfänge in Elberfeld, 1696–1722," pp. 450–455.
* *Signifies availability in whole or in part.*

The Documents in the Controversy[1]

In his *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede* (Legitimate Defense) of March 12, 1705, Bröske endeavoured to defend himself against accusations being made against him by preachers in the Elberfeld Classis. His main complaint was that Grüter and the Classis had been spreading rumours and insults about him and his teaching behind his back, in order to "disgrace his good name" and turn the affections of truth-loving people against him.[2] They praised him to his face, but then spread insults and scorned him before others. Bröske attributed this behaviour to want of judgement and a complete lack of love.[3] Bröske accused first preacher Johann Grüter of instigating "this depraved game" and of showing unreasonable prejudice, even hatred, against him as an outside candidate by

[1] Max Goebel rejoiced that "the sources flow so richly" concerning the story of Philadelphian chiliasm in Elberfeld. Goebel, *Bd. III*, p. 449. Goebel wrote: "Indem aber diese Geschichte uns wie zu einem Brennpunkt führt, in welchem der Separatismus und die Mystik, die Inspiration und der philadelphische Chiliasmus jener Tage zusammentreffen, so können wir uns nur freuen, daß die Quellen über sie so reichlich fließen…sie meist in das Archiv der Rheinischen Provinzialkirche übergegangen sind, dem Verfasser in Größter Vollständigkeit zu Gebote." Over a one and a half year period, the two parties contributed eight treatises to the controversy, four by Bröske and four by the Elberfeld preachers. Of these, six were available in whole or in part for writing chapter nine.

[2] Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, pp. 2f.

[3] Ibid., pp. 4f. "…Welches betragen einen unverstand und grossen mangel der liebe zum grunde hat."

opposing his candidacy on the day of the election.[4] Bröske's passion and indignation are transparent in this writing. He felt badly used and was convinced that theological issues were a pretext for personal enmity on the part of the Classis.

After the church elected Bröske ahead of the other candidates and sent him an official letter of call (*Beruff-Schein*),[5] Grüter went to work and met with his fellow preachers. They drafted a letter advising Bröske that his call had been highly "irregular" and that he should wait upon their investigation of his credentials. The Classis then prepared some excerpts from his writings and sent them to the church's Consistory as grounds for their concern. Here again, Bröske complained that they had not acted forthrightly. They should have first sent the passages to him for clarification, not to the church. "They made no mention of these excerpts in their writing to me, much less sent them to me and sought my explanation, which would have been the most direct, proper, loving and reasonable way to proceed, but sent them to the Consistory in Elberfeld."[6] Bröske noted that the passages from his works were taken out of context and did not truly represent his thinking.[7] He insisted that he would only feel gratitude and love for the person who could point out heretical teachings in his writings and point him to the right path. But this they had declined to do.[8]

Bröske said that he was forced to defend himself in print for the sake of those who complained that the accusations of the Classis "put them in doubt as to whom they should believe…"[9] His whole intention was

[4] Ibid., pp. 6f. "Herr Grüter hatte mit dem bißherigen betragen seine partialität gnugsam an tag geleget und gezeiget daß er wenigstens mit vorurteilen wo nicht gar mit haß und neid und einer darauß herfliessenden geflissenheit mir hinderlich und dadurch auch schädlich zu seyn eingenommen gewesen…"

[5] Ibid., p. 9.

[6] Bröske, "Zweyter Anhang," *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, p. 40. "Sie haben dieses Außzugs in ihrem Schreiben an mich mit keinem Worte gedacht viel weniger mir zugeschickt und meine Erklärung begehret (welches doch der geradeste richtigste liebreicheste und billigste Weg gewesen wäre), sondern dem Consistorio zu Elberfeld zugeschickt haben."

[7] Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, p. 11. "Worinnen sie nichts anders gethan als daß sie einige stückerchen ohne verknüpffung auß meinen Tractaten heraußgeschrieben und dieselbige hernach anstößige, fremde, gefährliche und unschrifftmaßige Red-Arten genennet ohne im geringsten oder nur mit einem eintzigen worte zu zeigen und an den tag zu legen worinnen doch der irrthum oder dergleichen etwas bestehen solte…"

[8] Ibid., p. 14.

[9] Ibid., p. 17.

to redeem his good name among these people. Bröske called on his accusers to recognize their error and to seek God's forgiveness.[10]

The Classis responded to Bröske in a writing entitled, *Die Gerechtsame Ablehnung* (The Justified Refusal of the Classis and Pastor Grüter). The Classis refused Bröske's invitation to apologize, hence their "justified refusal." The Classis saw it as a good thing that their exchange was carried on in public, through published proceedings, because then it could defend its reputation against Bröske's slanders.

This is set before the reader's eyes, of whatever class and position he might be, in a provisional way by open publication, so that the Elberfeld Classis might challenge the untruthful accusations of Herrn Brößke with these few reasons. At the same time, the exchange shows that he himself has no reasons, with his groundless so called *Schutz-Schrifft*, to break forth in so untimely a fashion. Although ignorant in these matters, he has been so impudent as to cast sand in the eyes of the unlearned and to cover over the pure truth and proper nature of things with dull clouds of mist.[11]

The Classis insisted that it had proceeded "with all considerate care" in providing the Synod with complete information about Brößke and his eligibility. There were no grounds for accusing the Classis of improper or irregular procedures. It had dealt with Bröske "according to love."[12] It was Bröske who lacked love, not they. The Classis argued that Bröske's *Schutz-Rede* (Word of Defense) was in fact a *Schmach-Rede* (Word of Insult) against the Classis.[13] Was it love when he had undertaken to circulate

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[10] Ibid., p. 16.

[11] Die Elberfelder Predigern, *Gerechtsame, Abgenöthigte vorauß-lauffende Ablehnung der Evangelisch-Reformirten Prediger Elberfeldischer Class, im Herzogthum Berge Gegen die am 12. Martii 1705 von Hn. Conrad Brößken Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn Außgegebene so genante Schutz-Rede* (1705), p. 8. "Dieses wird dem geehrten Leser wes Standes und Würden Er seye durch offenen Druck vorläuffig vor Augen gelegt damit die Elberfeldische Class durch diese wenige Ursachen die unwarhafftige Beschuldigungen des Herrn Brößkens in so weit von sich ablehnen und zugleich anweisen möchte wie derselbe gar keine Ursachen gehabt mit seiner unbegründeten so genanten Schutz-Schrifft so unzeitig loß zu brechen als worinnen Er ungeziemend gesinnet gewesen den in dieser Sachen Unkündigen nur Sand in die Augen zu streuen und die pur lautere Warheit und rechte Beschaffenheit der Sachen mit trüben Nebel-Wolcken zu bedecken."

[12] Die Elberfelder Predigern. *Gerechtsame, Abgenöthigte vorauß-lauffende Ablehnung*, p. 7.

[13] Die Elberfelder Predigern, *Gerechtsame, Abgenöthigte voraußlauffende Ablehnung*, p. 3. "sich nicht erröthet hat mit einer so genanten *Schutz-Rede* die aber von allen Ehr-liebenden Lesern nicht anders als eine bittere Schmach-Rede angesehen werden kan…wider die Predigere der Elberfeldischen Class, in offentlichem Druck vor aller Welt hervor zu tretten."

in the region "a bitter and stinging writing against the Classis" so that the Classis might be wounded and insulted by it?[14]

Brößke responded bitterly in his *Billige Zurückweisung* (Reasonable Challenge).[15] He scoffed at claims by the Classis that it had acted with "modest care" and "according to love." He noted its refusal to apologize for its "unceremonious behaviour and lovelessness against me which did not pertain to the matter at hand nor was of any help."[16] The Classis was not being even-handed in considering his candidacy.

I set forth the facts clearly in my *Schutz-rede* and invited the Classis to answer me, and… invited friend and foe to form an impartial judgment. Yet the Classis has addressed the matter with not a word, passing by with silence all the questions put to them.

Bröske turned the tables on the Classis and accused it of preventing discovery of the truth about the actual proceedings relating to his election and call to Elberfeld. "I leave it to the reader to judge who among the two of us, whether they or I, is casting sand in the people's eyes and covering over the pure truth and right nature of things with dull clouds of mist."[17]

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[14] Ibid., p. 5.

[15] In reference to the Elberfeld preachers' *Wohlbegründete Verthädigung der Wahrheit und Unschuld der Elberfeldischen Classe wider Brüßkes Unrechtmäßige Schutzrede wie auch wider desselben Unbillige Zurückweisung* (Duisburg am Rhein: Johannes Sas/der Königl. Universität Buchdrücker, March 1706), Hans Schneider said that the Bröske writing mentioned in the title "is no longer obtainable." See Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht, ed., *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), p. 431 n. 147. In fact, both Brößke works are available. See Conrad Bröske, *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede* located in UB Mannheim: Wk 317. This edition includes an additional eleven pages with Bröske's *Billige und auff die Warheit gegründete Zurückweisung, Der Im Namen der Evangelisch-Reformirten Herren Prediger Der Elberfeldischen Class, Im Druck herauß-gegebene Ablehnung Gegen Conrad Brößkens, Hof-Predigers zu Offenbach, Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*.

[16] Brößke, *Billige und auff die Warheit gegründete Zurückweisung* in Conrad Brößke, *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, p. 48. "Auß welchem allen dann mehr als Sonnen klar erhellet daß Classis dißfals keine bescheidene vorsichtigkeit gebraucht und da sie ihre unförmliches verfahren auch lieblosigkeit gegen mich keinerley weise entschuldigen konte mit allerhand zusammen geraffeten frembden nicht zur sache gehörenden auch gar nichts helffenden und doch so genanten ursachen und grunden ihre ungerechte sache bemänteln wollen…"

[17] Brößke, *Billige und auff die Warheit gegründete Zurückweisung* in Conrad Brößke, *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, pp. 48f. "Und wird dieses dem geehrten Leser wes Standes und Würden er seye auch durch den Druck vor augen geleget damit jederman sehe wie ich die Ablehnung meiner *Schutz-Rede* bilig zurück-weise; Und da ich *Speciem Facti* und der sachen wahre beschaffenheit deutlich in meiner *Schutz-Rede* vorgestellet Classem zur Antwort invitiret und dan erst wan die Antwort erfolgen würde Freund und Feind zum unpartheyischen Urtheile eingeladen habe. Classis aber auf die sache mit keinem

In the "Second Appendix" to his *Schutz-Rede*, Bröske provided his own brief account of the course of the conflict. He listed the following stages:

1) the attacks by pastor Grüter and the other preachers against Bröske and his good name;
2) the damage that had been done to his reputation at home and elsewhere, his good name having suffered "shipwreck";
3) the failure of the Classis to proceed in the most direct, proper, loving and reasonable way, which would be to deal with Bröske directly and to seek his clarification on matters of concern; instead, they brought matters into the open and proceeded to inform the Consistory and the Synod of their concerns;
4) the spreading of false rumours, as far away as Offenbach, that Bröske desired to go to Elberfeld but could not on account of his erroneous teachings;
5) Bröske's desperation in threatening a lawsuit if they would not clear his name by a favourable statement concerning him and his writings: "I would pursue my legal rights and would either accuse them before Synod or publish a *Speciem Facti* in defence of my good name";
6) Bröske's conviction that the blot on his reputation must be removed if he were to continue to be effective as court preacher in Offenbach;
7) Bröske's conviction that since the controversy had become known to "many thousands of people" in many places, only an accurate published account of the controversy could make things right;
8) finally, Bröske's concern to have what was entitled to him "by natural, civil and divine law."[18]

Bröske's account highlights what are best described as the personal points at issue, matters of reputation and respect, rather than theological issues.

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worte antwortet, alle die an sie gethane Fragen mit stillschweigen vorbeygehet…So lasse ich den Leser urtheilen wer unter beyden Theilen ob Sie oder ich den Leuthen Sand in die Augen streuen und die pur lautere Warheit und rechte Beschaffenheit der Sache mit trüben Nebel-Wolcken bedecken."

[18] Bröske, "Zweyter Anhang," *Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede*, pp. 38–41.

APPENDIX FOUR

CONRAD BRÖSKE'S PUBLICATIONS AND WRITINGS, 1692–1710

The list that follows is divided into Bröske's published university disputations, his other publications and writings, anonymous works that may or may not be Bröske's, polemical works directed against Bröske, and scholarly studies of Bröske. In this list of Bröske's works, nine titles are included that did not appear in Bröske's list in Appendix One, four of them works of translation:

Thomas Beverley's Memorial concerning the imminent Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, Published in England in 1690, translated into High German (1695);[1]

Mr. Thomas Beverley's Time-line with the Signs of the Times from the Beginning to the End of the World, translated into high German by Conrad Bröske along with a reflective afterward (1695, 1697);

Zechariah's Golden Lampstand and the Two Olive Trees. A Scriptural Commentary on the Fourth Chapter of this Prophet's Prophecies (1696);

Marcus van Peene, Servant of the Divine Word in Leiden, A Thorough Investigation and Full Explanation of the Letter of Paul to the Romans… Translated into High German by Konrad Brüßken (1697);[2]

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[1] *Thomas Beverleys ins Hochteutsche übers. Memorial über das heran-nahende Königreich unsers Herrn Jesus Christus. Welches 1690… in Engelland übergeben* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1695).

[2] Original titles and publication information for the last three works follows: *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt… aus dieses Mannes verschiedenen Schrifften zusammen gezogen und ins Hoch-Teutsche gebracht Durch Konrad Brüßken und mit einem nachdencklichen Anhang vermehrt* (Frankfurt: 1695; 1697); *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter Und Zween Oel-Bäume. Das ist Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Erklärung deß 4ten Kapittels der Weissagungen Obgedachten Profetens* (Hanau: 1696); Marcus van Peene, Prediger des Göttlichen Worts zu Leyden, *Gründliche Untersuchung und völlige Erklärung des Brieffs Pauli an die Römer: Welche in zwantzig Jahren Zeit verfasset. Worinnen die in diesem Brieffe enthaltene Wahrheiten dermassen deutlich ausgeleget und in ihrer Verknüpffung gezeiget werden, Daß Ein jeder nicht alleine die darinnen enthaltene Glaubens- und Lebens-Regeln… sehen kan, Die Nunmehr wegen ihrer sonderbahren Vortrefflichkeit ins Hochteutsche übersetzet worden, von Konrad Brüßken* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Gedruckt bey Johann Philipp Andreä, MDCXCVII, und Bremen: Philipp Gottfried Saurmann, 1697).

An Open Letter to the Crazed Democritus concerning "Wine and Oil in the Wounds of the still sickly Democritus" (1700);

Christian von Balhorn, *Concerning the Age of Christ and the Church* (1700);[3]

The Scales of the Thousand Year Kingdom (1704);

A Reasoned and Truthful Turning Aside of the Effort by the Evangelical Reformed Preachers of the Elberfeld Classis to Discredit Conrad Bröske's Effort at Self-Defence (1705);

Peter van Hoeke, Servant of the Divine Word. An Analytical Commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews, in which a general introduction can be found. Translated from Latin into Low German, as well as into High German by Conrad Brüßken, Court Preacher in Offenbach (1707).[4]

Conrad Bröske's University Disputations

1. Disputatio Physica *De Corporum Gravitate, Quam D.T.O. M. Benedicente*, Praeside Viro Nobilissimo, Experientissimo atq. Excellentissimo Dn. Henrico Majo, Medicinae Doctore, ejusdemq. ut & Physices in celeborrima Marburg. Academ. Profess. Ordinar. itemq. Archiatro Hassiaco meritissimo, & praelaudate Academiae hodie Rectore Magnifico, & Facultat. Medic. p.t. Decano Spectatissimo, Dn. Praeceptore in Patrono suo, aeternum honorando, colendo. In Acroaterio Philosophorum Ad diem 28. Maji h.o. Anno MDCLXXXI, Publice pro viribus defendendam conscripsit, Conradus Broeske, Balhornensis Hassus. Marburgi Cattorum, Typis Johannis Jodoci Kuersneri, 1681. 12 pages. [4: [Universitaets-Bibliothek, Marburg: R 39. 385]
2. Deo Optimo Maximo Benedicente, Auctoritate atque Suffragio, Amplissimae & Excellentissimae Facultatis Philosophicae, In Illustri Hac

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[3] Christian von Balhorn. *Von der Zeit Christi und der Kirchen* (Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700). This anonymous work is almost certainly from Bröske's hand.

[4] Original titles and publication information for the last four works follows: *Ein Send-Schreiben An den Im Urtheile verruückten Democritum Uber den Wein und das Oel in die Wunden Des zu heylenden Democriti* (1700); *Wagschale des tausendjährigen Reiches* (1704); *Billige und auff die Warheit gegründete Zurückweisung der im Namen der Evangelisch-Reformirten Herren Prediger der Elberfeldischen Class, im Druck herauß-gegebene Ablehnung Gegen Conrad Brößkens Hof-Predigers zu Offenbach Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede* (1705); *Petri van Hoeke, Dieners am Wort Gottes, Zergliederende Außlegung Des Send-Brieffs An die Hebräer; Worbey vorläuffig eine allgemeine Einleitung befindlich. Aus der Lateinischen in die Nieder-Deutsche, nunmehro aber auch wegen ihrer Vortrefflich- und Nutzbarkeit in die Hoch-Teutsche Sprache treulichst übersetzet Von Conrad Brüßken, Hochgräffl. Isenburg, und Buding. Hoff-Predigern zu Offenbach* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Getruckt und zu finden, bey Johann Philipp Andrea, Buchdruck- und Händlern, 1707).

Cattorum Wilhelmiana, Pro Magisterii Insignibus rite obtinendis, Hanc, *De Corporis Et Spatii Identitate, Exercitationem Philsoophicam, Sub Umbone Dn. Samuelis Andreae, S.S. Theol, Doct. ejusdemque, in Alma hac Cattorum, Extraordinarii, Histor. Civil. & Ecclesiast. simul ac Eloq. Profess. Ordin. longe Celeberr. nec non Biblioth. & Reform. ibidem Ecclesiae Pastoris Ordinarii, Dn. Praeceptoris ac Patroni sui debitam observantiam aetatem honorandi, colendi. In Acroaterio Philosophico Ad diem 17. Decembris, horis matutinis Pro viribus defendendam proponit, Conradus Broeske, Ex Hassis Balhornensis.* Marburgi Cattorum, Typis Joh. Jodoci Kuersneri, Acad. Typ. Anno 1681. 13 pages.

Conrad Bröske's Other Publications and Writings

3. *Der entdeckte Wider-Christ, oder Schrift- und geschichtmäßige Erklärung der Weissagung des Apostels 2 Thess. II, 3–8, worinnen zugleich einige dunkele Gesichter Daniels und der Offenbahrung sehr deutlich vorgestellt und damit etliche Strahlen eines in Gedanken schwebenden Schlüssels zu der Offenbahrung Johannis gezeigt werden. Ehemals öffentlich und mündlich in einer vornehmen holländischen Stadt vorgestellet, und nun zum Druck beschrieben von einem, welcher das Thier hasset und Christum Bekennet.* Hanau: Joh. Jacob Stock, 1692. 79 pages. 8vo [Staatsarchiv Darmstadt unter Beverley: Bibliothek Gimderode]
4. *In einer Predigt über Matth. VIII:11 den 21. Winter-monats 1694. vorgestellte und auff gnädigsten Befehl im Druck heraußgegebene Zum Theil erfüllete und noch zu erfüllen bevorstehende Bekehrung der Heyden, und Johann-Christoph Brüßkens, Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburg- und Büdingischen Pfarrherrns daselbst, In einer Predigt über Apost. Gesch. VIII: 36, 37, 38 erklärete Mohren-Tauffe. Sampt Einer außführlichen Erzehlung der am selbigen Tage zu Offenbach vorgefallenen und verrichteten, ins gemein so genanten Türcken-Tauffe. Als einer gebohrnen Türckin die sich zu dem Drey-Einigen waaren lebendigen Gott bekehret, nach abgelegter sehr herrlichen Glaubens-Bekäntnuß, auff Ihre inständiges Inhalten und Verlangen die H. Tauffe mitgetheilet worden.* Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, Hof- und Cantzley Buchdr., 20. November, 1694. 55 pages. 8vo [Staatsarchiv Darmstadt unter Beverley: Bibliothek Gimderode]
5. *Herrn Thomas Beverleys, Eines vortrefflichen Englischen Gottes-Gelehrten auch fleissigen Untersuchers deß Profetischen Worts und in Außlegung dessen eines rechten Wunder-Mannes, Ins Hochteutsche übersetzte Memorial über das herannahende Königreich unsers Herrn Jesus Christus. Welches Er im Christ-Monat deß 1690 osten Jahrs Ihro Majestäten dem Könige der Königin und*

dem gantzen versamlten Parlamente in Engelland übergeben und darinnen von künfftigen Begebenheiten weissaget. Deren Erfüllung wir bißher zum Theil erlebet und deßwegen das noch zu Erfüllende welches alles von grosser Wichtigkeit ist, desto fleissiger zu bedencken haben. Offenbach: Launoy, 1695. 32 pages. [HA 33: 62 G 20]

6. *Herrn Thomas Beverleys, Eines vortrefflichen Englischen Gottes-Gelehrten auch fleissigen Untersuchers deß Profetischen Worts und in Außlegung dessen eines rechten Wunder-Mannes, Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, Vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt. Wie beyde von Gott selbsten in seinem Worte geoffenbahret seynd. Sampt Allerhand nachdencklichen Anmerck- und Bestimmungen derer Begebenheiten die sich bißher zugetragen, auch nechstens nach dem Profetischen Worte Gottes zu gewarten stehen. Alles auß dieses Mannes verschiedenen herrlichen Schrifften zusammen gezogen und ins Hochteutsche gebracht Durch Konrad Brüßken Mit Vorrede an den Leser von Conrad Bröske* (18 S.) Frankfurt und Leipzig: Georg Henrich Oehrling, 1695. 224 pages. 8vo [HA 33: 62 G 20] [23: XFilm 1:115] [FB Gotha: Th 8vo 00420]
7. *Herrn Thomas Beverleys Zeit-Register mit denen Zeichen der Zeiten, vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt… und mit einem nachdencklichen Anhang vermehrt* (with Bröske's 16 page Appendix). Franckfurt: Johann David Zunner und Offenbach: Bonav. de Launoy, 1697. 224 pages. [23: G 438. 8vo Helmst. (1)] und [Staatsarchiv Darmstadt unter Beverley: Bibliothek Gimderode]
8. *Zacharia's Güldener Leuchter Und Zween Oel-Bäume. Das ist Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Erklärung deß 4ten Kapittels der Weissagungen Obgedachten Profetens.* Hanau: Johann Matthias Stann, 1696. 60 pages. [Staatsarchiv Darmstadt unter Beverley: Bibliothek Gimderode]
9. *Die Grosse Welt-Woche, gezeiget in der Ersten Wochen der Welt, d.i. eine deutliche Vorstellung der grossen Geheimnissen, welche in denen sechs Tagen der Schöpfung und dem darauf erfolgten siebenden Ruhe-Tage enthalten seynd. Worinnen alle merckliche Begebenheiten vom Anfange bis ans Ende der Welt, in sieben Zeit-Theile eingetheilt und mit ihrem Muster durchgehends verglichen werden. Sampt einer Vorrede in welcher einige ungegründete Lästerungen wider Herrn Beverley beantwortet, auch einige Ungewißheiten, ja selbsten Unrichtigkeiten in seinem Zeit-Register gezeiget, aber auch zugleich entschuldiget und verbessert werden. Alles nach Anleitung des göttlichen geoffenbarten Worts aufgesetzt und beschrieben von Conrad Brüßken hochgräfl. Isenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn.* Franckfurt und Hanau: Joh. Matthias Stann, 1696. 56 pages. 8vo [23: XFilm 1:115] und [Staatsarchiv Darmstadt unter Beverley: Bibliothek Gimderode] [FB Gotha: Theol 8vo 00413/05 (03)]

10. Conrad Bröske, *Ein Schlüssel über Herrn Beverleys, eines Englischen Gottes-Lehrers und Predigers in London, Zeit-Register, worinnen alle seine bisher dunkel gebliebene Sätze und Meinungen auf vieler Verlangen und Begehren erläutert und klar in ihrer Ordnunge vom Anfange bis zum Ende vorgestellt werden. Samt einer Antwort auff Hn. Jungmanns Anmerckungen über gedachtes Zeit-Register. Worinnen beständig erwiesen wird, daß diese Anmerckungen die Zeit-Rechnunge nicht so sehr umstossen als bevestigen, und im übrigen entweder ohne Grund von Irrthümern reden oder auch wol gar dem Hn. Beverley Meynungen zu-schreiben, die er ganz nicht lehret sondern selbsten als irrig verwirffet; Und also das Zeit-Register mit seinen Zeichen der Zeiten durch diese Anmerckungen im geringsten noch nicht getränckt ist. Mit einer Vorrede Ohne welche der Leser billich nichts von dieser Verfassunge lesen soll. Auff Begehren auffgesetzt Von dem Übersetzer des Zeit-Registers.* Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1697. 80 pages. 8vo [23: G 438. 8vo Helmst. (2)] und [23: Fd 12. 8vo]
11. *Marcus van Peene, Prediger des Göttlichen Worts zu Leyden, Gründliche Untersuchung und völlige Erklärung des Brieffs Pauli an die Römer: Welche in zwantzig Jahren Zeit verfasset. Worinnen die in diesem Brieffe enthaltene Wahrheiten dermassen deutlich ausgeleget und in ihrer Verknüpffung gezeiget werden, Daß Ein jeder nicht alleine die darinnen enthaltene Glaubens- und Lebens-Regeln… sehen kan, Die Nunmehr wegen ihrer sonderbahren Vortrefflichkeit ins Hochteutsche übersetzet worden, von Konrad Brüßken.* Franckfurt am Mayn: Gedruckt bey Johann Philipp Andreä, MDCXCVII, und Bremen: Philipp Gottfried Saurmann, 1697. 1,504 pages 4to [Forschungsbibliothek Gotha: Theol 4to 00142/04]
12. Conrad Bröske. *Der Heydelbergische Catechismus samt einer Zergliederung von Conrad Bröße, Hofpredigern zu Offenbach: wodurch diese sonst starcke Speise den Schwachen zur Milch gemacht werden*. Frankfurt: Zunner, 1698/Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1698. duodecimo [Second edition: Fall 1698; Third edition: Easter 1704; Fourth edition: Fall 1709 and Easter 1710].

12b. Conrad Bröske, *Der Heidelbergische Catechismus, samt einer Zergliederung wodurch diese sonst starke Speise dem schwachen zur Milch gemacht worden, von Conrad Brößken zum vierten mahl gedruckt*. Offenbach: Bonaventure de Launoy, 1709. duodecimo

13. [Conrad Bröske]. *Acht Unterredungen Zwischen einem Politico und Theologo, Über die letztere herauß-gegebene Erklärungen Daniels, der H. Offenbahrung und anderer Weissagungen mehr. Von einem unpartheyischen Hörer dieser Gespräche vorgestellet.* Offenbach: de Launoy, 1698–1700. 264 pages. [7: 8vo Theol.bibl. 820/58]

14. Conrad Bröske. *Das heilige Leben der Ersten Christen, Wie dasselibge von Weyland Herrn. D. Hornecken, von Grosbrittania Hofpredigern, aus einem französ. Schreiben… in Englischer Sprache entworffen, und nun auß dem Englischen ins Teutsche gebracht,und in einigen Stücken mit dem heutigen Christenthum verglichen.* Offenbach: de Launoy, 1699. 96 pages. 8vo [24: Theol. oct. 598] [FB Gotha: Theol 8vo 00226/12 (01)]
15. Conrad Bröske. *Der in den siebentzig Wochen Danielis bestimmte Monath und Tag, Der Geburth wie auch das rechte Alter Jesu Christi, sammt dem in diesem Alter befindlichen Geheimnüsse von dem völligen Alter der Kirchen Neues Testaments. Alles aus Gelegenheit der bekanten Streit-Frage vom jetzigen Jahre, (Ob nemblich dasselbige der Schluß deß sieben-zehenden, oder der Anfang deß folgenden Seculi seye). In Eyl zusammen gesetzet durch Christian von Balhorn*. Offenbach am Mayn: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700. 24 pages. 4to [23: Xb 1465] [12: 4 Exeg. 981, 28]
16. Conrad Bröske, *Die Nach des Profeten Zacharias Weissagung, Zu erwartende häuffige Abdanckung Der Schlimmen Prediger, kurtz entworffen. Zach. XIII. v. 4. 5.* Gedruckt im Jahr 1700. 16 pages. [23: Ts 241 (2)]
17. Christian von Balhorn. *Von der Zeit Christi und der Kirchen*. Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700.
18. Conrad Bröske, *Wein und Oel In die Wunden Des zuheilenden Democriti*. 1700. 16 pages. [23: QuN 460.3 (5)]
19. Conrad Bröske, *Der durch Konrad Brüßken nun Recht beschämte Democritus*. 27. Mai Offenbach: Launoy, 1700. 7 pages. [23: QuN 460.3 (3b)]
20. Conrad Bröske, *Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus In Einem Schreiben an Ihn Von einem Der Wahrheit und Frieden liebet*. Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700. 16 pages. [23: QuN 460.3 (3)]
21. Conrad Bröske, *Ein Send-Schreiben An den Im Urtheile verruückten Democritum Über Den Wein und das Oel In die Wunden Des zu heylenden Democriti*. 1700. 20 pages. [23: QuN 460.3 (6)]
22. Konrad Brüßke, *Augen-Salbe Vor den Hn. Democritum Und Alle die seinen falschen Bezeugungen glauben, Auß Liebe zu ihrer aller Genesung zubereitet*. 1700. 32 pages. 8vo [24: MC Theol. oct. 2360]
23. Konrad Brüßke, *Die alte und neue auch böse und gute Religion, kurz entworfen durch Conrad Brößken Hofprediger zu Offenbach*. Offenbach: Bonav. de Launoy, 1701. 64 pages. 8vo [12: Dogma 130 p. Beibd. 3] [FB Gotha: Theol 8vo 00829/01]
24. Conrad Bröske, *Die wahre Christen-Tauffe auß Gottes Wort beschrieben durch Conrad Bröske, Hofprediger zu Offenbach.* Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1701. 72 pages. 8vo [24: Theol 8vo 2361]

25. Conrad Bröske, *Wahre Christen-Tauffe wie auch Die Gültigkeit der Kinder-Tauffe, Verthädiget wider den so genanten Probier-Stein dieser Tauffen*. Offenbach: Bonvaventura de Launoy, 1702. 12 pages. 8vo [24: Theol 8vo 2361] and [Halle: 64 G 21]
26. Conrad Bröske, *Über das Gebet des Herrn, seinem höchsten Innhalte nach, aus heil. Schrift erkläret.* Offenbach: Bonaventure de Launoy, 1702. 64 pages. 8vo [Staatsarchiv Darmstadt unter Beverley: Bibliothek Gimderode]
27. Conrad Brössken, *Schlüssel zu der Offenbahrung Johannis, Sampt Einer Taffel und Kupffer, Worinnen die gantze Offenbahrung in die richtigste und deutlichste Ordnung gestellet worden, Durch Conrad Brößken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach.* Offenbach am Mayn: Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy, 1703. 50 pages. 8vo [23: Td 61] and [7: 8vo Theol. Bibl. 1036/26]
28. *Wagschale des tausendjährigen Reiches*. Anno 1704.
29. Conrad Bröske. *Rechtmäßige Schutzrede wider die von einigen zu der Elberfeldischen Classe gehörigen Herrn Prediger, ohne sein Verschulden hinter ihm her mit Unrecht ausgestreuete Schmachreden, und deren so unbesonnenes als unchristliches Betragen gegen die den 7 November 1704 zu Elberfeld gehaltene Predigers-Wahl.* Offenbach: de Launoy, 12. März 1705. 16 pages. and an Appendix of 21 pages. 4to [180: Wk 317]
30. *Billige und auff die Warheit gegründete Zurückweisung der im Namen der Evangelisch-Reformirten Herren Prediger der Elberfeldischen Class, im Druck herauß-gegebene Ablehnung Gegen Conrad Bröß̈kens Hof-Predigers zu Offenbach Rechtmäßige Schutz-Rede.* 1705. 11 pages. [180: Wk 317]
31. Konrad Bröße, *Der Melchisedek schrifftmäßig beschrieben.* Franckfurt am Mayn: Bey Georg Heinrich Walthern, 1705. 40 pages. 8vo [Rostock: Tc 40 (69)]
32. Conrad Bröske. *Waage der Wahrheit, wodurch entdecket wird, die Ungerechtigkeit der in Gottes Wort so hart verbotenen falschen Waagschalen, womit einige reformirte Herren Prediger der Elberfeldischen Classe im Herzogthum Bergen, die durch ihn Aufrichtigkeit zur Prüfung vorgestellte Lehre der ersten ältesten und rechtsinnigsten Christen, vom täusendjährigen Reiche, wie auch einige andern seiner Red-Arten und Meynungen ungebürlich abgewogen haben.* Offenbach: de Launoy, 1706. 8vo
33. Petri van Hoeke, Dieners am Wort Gottes, *Zergliederende Außlegung Des Send-Brieffs An die Hebräer; Worbey vorläuffig eine allgemeine Einleitung befindlich. Aus der Lateinischen in die Nieder-Deutsche, nunmehro aber auch wegen ihrer Vortrefflich- und Nutzbarkeit in die Hoch-Teutsche Sprache treulichst übersetzet Von Conrad Brüßken, Hochgräffl. Isenburg, und Buding.*

Hoff-Predigern zu Offenbach. Franckfurt am Mayn, Getruckt und zu finden, bey Johann Philipp Andrea, Buchdruck- und Händlern, 1707. 360 pages. [7: 8vo Theol. Bibl. 1036/26]

34. *Der Kinder Gottes Seligster Schlaff, An Dem seligen Schlaffe oder Tode Lazari, Des geliebten Freundes Jesu, wahrgenommen Und .aus Veranlassung des im Jahr Christi 1707 zwischen dem 8ten und 9ten Tag Augusti Nachts um 12. Uhre so unvermutheten als höchst-seligen Einschlaffens und Absterbens der weyland Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen Frauen Charlotten Amalien, Gebohrnen Pfalz-Gräfin bey Rhein, Hertzogin in Bayern, zu Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Gräfin zu Beldentz, Sponheim, der Marck und Ravensberg, Frauen zu Ravenstein, Vermählten Gräfin zu Ysenburg und Büdingen, beschrieben Auch Nachdem der verblichene Fürstliche Körperden 8ten Septembris darauff in die Herzschafftliche Grusst zu Offenbach beygesetzet worden, Den 11ten Tag selbigen Monatsdaselbst in offentlicher volckreicher Versamlung Mündlich vorgetragen, Endlich Auff Gnädigsten Befehl zum Druck herauß-gegeben Durch Conrad Brößken, Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach.* Bonaventura de Launoy, Hoch-Gräfl. Ysenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Buchdruckern, 1708. 81 pages. Folio [In the private archive of the Ysenburg Graf in the Schloß in Birstein]
35. Conrad Bröske, *Schrift- und Naturmäßige Gedanken von der Ehe zwischen Bluts-Freunden, dabey insonderheit die Frage: Ob ein Mann seines Bruders oder Schwester Tochter heurathen dürffen. Weitläufftig betrachtet, und deren Bejahung oder Affirmative nicht allein Von Conrad Bröske Hochgräfl. Ysenburgischen Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach, In einer allda Vor der gantzen Volck-reichen Gemeinde an dem VIII. Sonntag nach Trinitatis 1708. gehaltenen und auff nachstehenden Blättern Gedruckten Predigt, Sondern auch von Evangelischen und den Allwissenden Gott und ihr Christliches Gewissen für Augen habenden Jurisconsultis Auß Göttlichen und Natürlichen Rechten gründlich bestättiget wird.* Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1709. 69 pages. 4to [24: Kirchen-R. 4to Kaps. 70] [300: 124074–B]
36. Konrad Brößke, *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschicht-mässige Betrachtungen, der so genannten Sonn- und Fest-Täglichen Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr. Darinnen 1. Alle Evangelien deutlich entworfen und erkläret. 2. Die Lehr-Warheiten nach der Reihe vorgestellet; und 3. die darinnen befindliche Sachen auß eine geheime und bildliche Weise zugeeignet werden.* Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1710. 4to
37. Konrad Brößke, *Natur- Schrifft- und Geschichtmässige Betrachtungen der so genannten Sonn- und Fest-Täglichen Evangelien durchs ganze Jahr. Darinnen 1. ein jedes Evangelium ganz entworfen und kurz erkläret. 2. Die Lehr-Warheiten daraus in einer Reihe angezeiget; und 3. der ganze Innhalt eines jeden Evangelii*

auf eine geheime und sinnbildliche Weise, bald auf die Kirche, bald auf die Welt insgemein, bald auf diese oder jene Begebenheit, dann auf den Menschen ins besondere, sowol nach dem äusserlichen als innnerlichen Zustande, zugeeignet wird. Franckfurt am Mayn: Johann Maximilian von Sand, 1716. 606 pages. 4to [Bibliothek des Theologischen Seminars Herborn]

38. Conrad Bröske, *Unmasgeblicher Vorschlag, wie das ganze geoffenbarte Wort Gottes, welches in den Schriften A. u. N.T. enthalten ist, klar möge ausgelegt werden, sodaß es jedermann, auch der allergeringste, meistens verstehen könne.* 4to
39. Conrad Bröske, *Zweyfache Probe, wie man das ganze heil. Wort Gottes dermassen erklären und durch Zusammenbringung aller von einerley Sachen handlender Schrift-Oerter, so deutlich machen könne, daß es ein jeder, der nur ein wenig Fleiß anwenden will, nicht allein meistens verstehen, sondern auch andern auslegen und erklären kann.* Folio.
40. Conrad Bröske, *Das Feuer brennt, wer wills löschen.*
41. Conrad Bröske, *Natur-schrift- und geschichtmäßige Beschreib- und Erklärung der mit dem Tempel Salomons in eine Gleichheit gestelleten Hütten Mosis.* (In ms. in 1710)
42. Conrad Bröske, *Erklärung der Offenbahrung Johannis* (In ms. in 1710)
43. Conrad Bröske, *Die erste Welt, oder Erklärung der acht ersten Capitel des ersten Buchs Moses.* (In ms. in 1710)

Anonymous Works

Christian von Balhorn. *Von der Zeit Christi und der Kirchen.* Offenbach: Bonaventura de Launoy, 1700. (Included in the list of the library holdings of Gottfried Arnold in Dietrich Blaufuß and Friedrich Niewöhner, ed., *Gottfried Arnold, Vorträge gehalten in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995).

Anonymous Works attributed to Bröske by Johann Konrad Dippel

1. Philadelphi Heracliti, *Christ-brüderliches Send-Schreiben An seinen lieben Bruder den so genandten Christianum Democritum.* 1700. 48 pages. [24: Theol octavo 13848]
2. Philadelphi Heracliti, *Gemilderte Thränen, Oder Zweites Send- und Antwort-Schreiben An den Ihm von Angesicht gantz unbekanten Democritum.* 1700. 60 pages. [23: duodecimo Ts 275 (3)]

Writings Directed against Bröske

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2. Christiani Democriti, *Kurtze Anmerckungen oder Antwort über Titeln Herrn Brüssken hochgräffliche Ysenburgischen Hoff-Predigers zu Offenbach, Beide Send-Schreiben unter dem Titul: Der Durch Liebe überwundene Democritus, und Der im Urteil verrückte Democritus*. May, 1700. 7 pages. In *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen*. Amsterdam: Henrich Betkii Erben, 1709. 1,231 pages. [Wittgenstein Bibliothek, Marburg/Lahn]
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durchgehends verglichen werden. Sampt einer Vorrede in welcher einige ungegründete Lästerungen wider Herrn Beverley beantwortet, auch einige Ungewißheiten, ja selbsten Unrichtigkeiten in seinem Zeit-Register gezeiget, aber auch zugleich entschuldiget und verbessert werden. Alles nach Anleitung deß Göttlichen geoffenbareten Worts auffgesetzt und beschrieben Von Conrad Brüßken. Hochgräfl. Isenburg- und Büdingischen Hof-Predigern zu Offenbach am Mayn. Franckfurt: Joh. Matthias Stam, 1696.

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